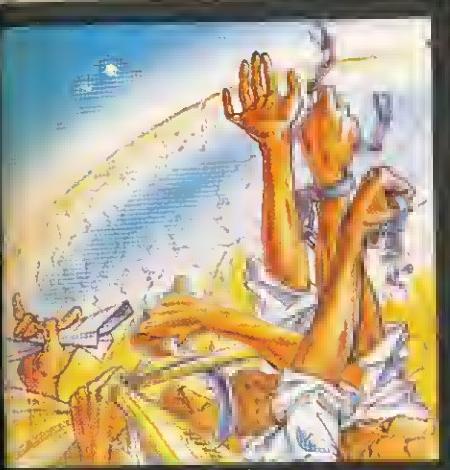


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## БИБЛИОТЕКА СТУДЕНТА

В. Александров

НОВЕЙШАЯ ИСТОРИЯ СТРАН МИРА 1917-1945

Краткие очерки

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The period of world history (1917-1945) to which this book is devoted was filled with stormy and dramatic events. The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia (1917) is described as the most important event of the 20th century. After the First World War ended, a revolutionary wave swept across the entire globe. The foundations of the old world were soundly shaken by the November revolution in Germany, the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Austria-Hungary, revolutionary struggles in Italy and France, the national revolutionary war of the Spanish people and many other events. The broad masses joined the movement.

Millions of people in dependent and oppressed countries rose up in struggle. China, known as the "sleeping giant", was gripped by revolutionary wars. India, the pearl of the British crown, demanded independence. Numerous coups, both revolutionary and counter-revolutionary, took place in Latin America. The forces of the national liberation movement in Africa matured.

This book examines the history of the world's major countries—the USA, China, USSR, India, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan. In it the reader will also find material about the most important events in other countries, as well as about international relations and the international working-class movement.

In a very short span of history, from 1917 to 1945, radical changes took place around the world in favour of the forces of peace, freedom and social progress. Such is the course of history. Our textbook will help to understand it.

## Chapter 1

### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 1917-1939

#### 1. International Relations at the End of the First World War (1917-1923)

*The beginning of a new epoch in world history.* The victory of the October Revolution heralded a new page in world history, a new age in the development of human society.

What influence did the October Revolution have on the future of mankind and on world history? For the first time ever, the Great October Socialist Revolution satisfied the pressing need of mankind for a transition from the old capitalist system to a new social system—socialism and communism.

The historical inevitability of capitalism being replaced by socialism was proved by Marx and Engels. Lenin upheld their teaching and further developed it. Social practice confirmed the conclusions of the founders of Marxism-Leninism on the inevitable replacement of capitalism by socialism. The growth of the productive forces, the tremendous socialisation of production, and the aggravation of all the capitalist contradictions created the objective prerequisites for society's transition from capitalism to socialism. This transition was achieved for the first time in Russia due to the victory of the October Revolution, which showed workers throughout the world the way to eliminate the old exploiter system and replace it by a socialist society free of exploitation and oppression. The victory of the October Revolution did thereby usher in a new epoch in mankind's history.

*The Brest Peace Treaty.* The First World War, in which the four-power bloc (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Bulgaria) was on the road to defeat, was still raging at the moment the Soviet state was born. In these circumstances, the young Soviet state appealed to all

countries to make peace. The first act of foreign policy performed by the Land of Soviets was the Decree on Peace, drafted by Lenin and approved by the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets on October 26 (November 8), 1917. It contained an appeal to all the peoples at war and their governments to start negotiations immediately on ending the war and concluding a peace treaty without annexations and indemnities. The Decree proclaimed the principles and norms of socialist foreign policy, such as internationalism, the peaceful coexistence of states, the right of nations to self-determination, the equality of big and small nations, condemnation of colonialism, refusal to employ aggression in any form, renunciation of secret diplomacy, and an appeal to peoples themselves to resolve the fundamental questions in international politics.

Soon the Soviet Government officially submitted a proposal for negotiations on an armistice to begin immediately. The bourgeois governments of the USA, Britain, France and the other countries concerned rejected the Soviet peace initiative, because they did not wish to end the war before they had managed to carry out their aggressive plans. Germany and her allies agreed to the Soviet proposal to begin peace talks, in the hope of gaining time to consolidate their military positions on the Western Front. The decree for a 28-day armistice was signed by Soviet Russia and the countries of the German bloc on December 2(15), 1917.

The Soviet Government attributed great importance to establishing new relations, based on equal rights, with the oppressed countries and peoples. Soviet Russia annulled and published the secret treaties concluded by the tsarist and Provisional governments (among them the treaties on the partitioning by the imperialists of Persia, Turkey, and China). More than one hundred secret diplomatic documents of the imperialist states were published. The Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia of November 2(15), 1917, became a vital document in Soviet foreign policy. This document proclaimed the principles of friendship, equal rights, and mutual respect among all nations, the right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination, up to and including secession and the formation of an independent

state. Soon after that, Soviet Russia recognised the state independence of Poland and Finland. The attitude of the Soviet Government to the oppressed peoples of the East was a particularly solicitous one. In the document "To All Working Moslems of Russia and the East" of November 20 (December 3), 1917, the Soviet Government outlined the fundamentals of its policy and assured the working Moslems of Russia of its respect for their beliefs and customs, for their national and cultural institutions and their right to arrange their own national way of life. All these acts by the Soviet Government for the first time in history countered the policy of plunder and violence with a policy of peace and equal rights among peoples.

Soviet Russia began peace negotiations with Germany and its allies (Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey) in Brest-Litovsk (now Brest) on December 9(22), 1917. At the talks the Soviet delegation submitted a proposal for a democratic and just peace. It demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories occupied by them, in particular, from Poland, Lithuania, Kurland and other areas of Russia and that the population of these territories should be allowed to decide their future for themselves. The leaders of the German delegation, however, announced that Germany had no intention of withdrawing its troops. Germany's territorial claims covered an area of more than 150,000 sq km, including Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Ukrainian, and Byelorussian lands. Germany's tough stand seriously complicated the situation at the talks.

Moreover, there were differences of opinion among the Soviet leaders as to whether the negotiations should be continued or whether peace should be made on these exacting terms. Lenin considered that Soviet Russia should make peace immediately. Meanwhile, Trotsky and the "left-wing Communists"<sup>1</sup> opposed Lenin's view. The "left-wing Communists" proposed that a "revolutionary war" should be started against Germany, which the young Soviet state could not wage. As for Trotsky,

<sup>1</sup> "Left-wing Communists"—an opposition group within the Communist Party in 1918 (N. I. Bukharin, K. B. Radek, G. L. Pyatakov and others) which came out against the Brest Treaty. The Seventh Party Congress held in March 1918 rejected their line.

he proposed that the state of war should be proclaimed ended, the army should be demobilised along the whole front, but a peace treaty should not be signed. It was the fault of Trotsky, who led the Soviet delegation at Brest-Litovsk, that the negotiations had been wrecked.

On February 18, 1918, the German army resumed military operations and launched offensives along the whole front. The Soviet state was in mortal danger. The invaders were only halted at the cost of supreme efforts on the part of the newly formed Red Army. Only then did Germany and its allies agree to continue the talks. But now they made even more exacting territorial and economic claims on the Soviet state. The Land of Soviets was forced to agree to Germany's peace terms and on March 3, 1918, the Brest Peace Treaty was signed. According to this treaty, Germany annexed Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, and turned the Ukraine into its vassal. The Soviet Government agreed to pay Germany a huge indemnity (6,000 million gold marks) and conclude with it an unequal trade agreement. According to the Brest Treaty Soviet Russia's army was to be demobilised and the navy was to be disarmed. Soviet Russia was to withdraw its troops from the Ukraine and Finland. Turkey received Batumi, Kars, and Ardagan. The significance of the Brest Peace for Soviet Russia consisted in the fact that it withdrew from the imperialist war and obtained the respite it needed.

The policy of peace pursued by the Soviet state made a tremendous impression on peoples throughout the world. In view of it, the imperialist governments came out with a number of demagogic statements and declarations. Thus, on January 8, 1918, in his address to the US Congress, President Woodrow Wilson of the United States put forward The Fourteen Points of the Post-War Peace Settlement, in which the following was proclaimed: renunciation of secret diplomacy, freedom of international trade, reduction of armaments, the setting up of the League of Nations as "an instrument of peace", the solution of colonial questions taking into account the interests of the oppressed peoples, the just settlement of the territorial issues in Russia, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and so forth. However,

the actual goal of Wilson's "fourteen points" was to disguise the real aggressive intentions of the USA and its allies. In respect of Russia, these points envisaged the partitioning of Russia, an end to its great-power status, and the abolition of Soviet power within the country.

In fact, soon after the October Revolution, the imperialist powers set about organising armed intervention against Soviet Russia. The Land of Soviets was in mortal danger. The respite for the Soviet state proved to be a short one.

The enemies of Soviet power tried to torpedo the Brest Peace Treaty and frustrate the normalisation of relations between Soviet Russia and Germany. On July 6, 1918, the Socialist-Revolutionary Blyumkin assassinated the German Ambassador to Soviet Russia, Count Mirbach. At the same time, the Socialist-Revolutionaries staged revolts against Soviet power in Moscow, Rybinsk, Yaroslavl, and other towns. The rebels demanded that war should immediately be declared on Germany. Soviet Russia could again be drawn into a war with Germany. It did, however, manage to settle the conflict thanks to the firm and flexible policy pursued by the Soviet Government.

*The Paris Peace Conference (1919-20).* On November 11, 1918, Germany signed an armistice agreement with the countries of the Entente in the forest of Compiègne. The First World War was over. Germany and its allies suffered defeat. On November 13, 1918, the Soviet Government annulled the Brest Treaty and all the agreements ensuing from it. So, just as Lenin had foreseen, the humiliating Brest Treaty did not last for long. After the world war the Anglo-Franco-American alliance began to concentrate its forces against Soviet Russia. In the second half of November 1918, Anglo-French troops landed in Novorossiisk, Sevastopol, and Odessa. Besides, the victor states suggested that Germany should keep its troops in the Ukraine and the Baltic countries and join the struggle against Soviet Russia.

At the same time, the countries of the Entente set about dividing up their spoils. On January 18, 1919, the Paris Conference of the victor states started, attended by more than one thousand delegates from 27 countries.

The sponsors of the conference refused to allow representatives of Soviet Russia to attend. Although the Paris Peace Conference was to work out a peace treaty with Germany and its allies, one of the main issues was, however, "the Russian question". Those steering the conference strove to elaborate an agreed stand for the purpose of destroying Soviet Russia and partitioning it.

The conference was the scene of heated wrangling among the USA, Britain, France, Italy and Japan to divide up the world. The United States, which was doing its utmost to become the leader of the capitalist world, was very active at the conference. It counteracted the seizure by Britain, France and other powers of territories taken away from Germany and Turkey, proposing that these territories be put under the control of the League of Nations, which the US hoped to subordinate to its influence. The American proposals on "freedom of the seas", "free trade", "free settlement of colonial questions" were also aimed at preventing Britain, France and Japan from gaining in strength and at getting access to their colonial possessions. Besides this, the USA tried to preserve Germany's forces for the struggle against Soviet Russia and also as "a counterbalance" to Britain and France.

At the conference France attempted to bring about the partitioning of Germany into a number of small states, in the hope of extending its own frontiers in Europe as well as seizing a considerable part of the Turkish and German colonies. The French diplomats did, moreover, strive to receive more than 50 per cent of the total sum of the reparations to be paid by Germany. France's plans also included establishing its hegemony in Europe.

Britain's main aim at the conference was to formalise its own status quo. The British armed forces had seized a considerable part of the German colonies in Africa and of the Turkish possessions. The German fleet stood at anchor in the Scottish harbour of Scapa Flow. Well aware that Germany was no match for it, Britain was interested in preserving the German state for the "balance of forces on the mainland of Europe", as well as for the struggle against Soviet Russia.

At the conference, the Italian diplomats strove to

formally annex a number of territories in the Balkans which were part of Austria-Hungary before the war.

Japan demanded that the Chinese province of Shandong and the German colonies in the Pacific should be handed over to it. It was supported in its demands by Great Britain, which was trying to draw support from Japanese imperialism in its rivalry with the USA.

The six months that the Paris Peace Conference was in progress led to agreement among the victor states on the main clauses of the peace treaties. The peace treaty with Germany was signed on June 28, 1919, in Versailles. Germany and its allies were proclaimed guilty of starting the war, and they were obliged to pay reparations. The sum of the reparations was established later at the London Conference in 1921 and amounted to 132,000 million gold marks. Out of this total, France was to receive 52 per cent, Britain—22 per cent, and Italy—10 per cent. The Treaty of Versailles prohibited universal military service in Germany, and did not permit Germany to have submarines and military and naval aircraft. The army formed of volunteers was to number no more than 100,000. France recovered its provinces of Alsace and Lorraine seized by Germany in 1871, and the coal mines in the Saar region were also put under its control. The German part of the left bank of the Rhine and a strip of the right bank 50 kilometres wide were subject to complete demilitarisation. Belgium was allotted the Eupen and Malmédy districts. The northern part of the lands in Schleswig were turned to Denmark. Poznań, the regions of Pomerania, western and eastern Prussia, and also part of Upper Silesia were handed over to Poland. Danzig (Gdansk) became a free city administered by the League of Nations.

The German colonies of Togo and the Cameroons became the possessions of Great Britain and France. Britain also received Tanganyika (former German East Africa), Belgium got Ruanda and Urundi, and the South African Union got German South-West Africa. Japan was assigned the Marshall, Mariana and Caroline islands in the Pacific, as well as the Chinese territory of Jiaozhou and the concession in the province of Shandong. The USA suffered a great defeat on the

colonial question. Its demand for "equality in the colonies" was not taken into account.

Separate peace treaties were signed with Germany's allies. The Treaty of St. Germain with Austria of September 10, 1919, stated that the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy had ceased to exist. Part of the southern Tirol was handed over to Italy. Bohemia and Moravia became part of the new state of Czechoslovakia. Bukovina was handed over to Romania, in spite of the decision of the people's assembly (veche) of November 3, 1918, on its reunification with the Soviet Ukraine. Austria was permitted to have a 30,000-strong army. Its fleet was handed over to the allies. The treaty prohibited the unification of Austria and Germany.

According to the peace treaty with Bulgaria signed in Neuilly-sur-Seine on November 27, 1919, part of its territory was turned over to Yugoslavia and Romania. The Bulgarian army was restricted to 20,000 men.

The peace treaty with Hungary was signed on June 4, 1920, in the Grand Trianon palace in Versailles. According to this treaty, Croatia, Bačka and the western part of Banat went to Yugoslavia, Transylvania and the eastern part of Banat went to Romania, and Slovakia and the Transcarpathian Ukraine to Czechoslovakia. Hungary was allowed to have an army of no more than 35,000 effectives, and, like all Germany's other allies, paid reparations to the victors.

On August 10, 1920, the victor states concluded the Peace Treaty of Sèvres with Turkey which formalised the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire. Turkey lost approximately 80 per cent of its possessions (Palestine, Transjordan, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and other territories). International control was enforced over the Black Sea straits by the countries of the Entente (mainly Great Britain). The straits became a demilitarised zone, and any non-Black Sea state was conceded the unimpeded right of passage through them for its naval vessels. Turkey, limited to a portion of the peninsula of Asia Minor and the strip of European territory on which Istanbul stands, was essentially placed in colonial dependence. The imperialist powers regarded it as an important anti-Soviet bridgehead.

At the Paris Conference the League of Nations was

founded, the Charter of which was included in the texts of the peace treaties and signed by 44 countries. Britain and France had asserted their influence in the League of Nations while the US imperialists considered that they had been done out of their fair share at the Paris Peace Conference. Therefore, they refused to approve the Versailles Treaty and did not join the League of Nations. Later, the USA signed a separate treaty with Germany, which was the same in its content as the Versailles Treaty with the exception of the articles on the League of Nations.

This was how the Versailles system of treaties came about which recorded the arrangement of the international forces in Europe after the First World War and consolidated the Anglo-Franco-American supremacy in the capitalist world. This system was fraught with serious contradictions both between the victor states themselves and in their relations with the vanquished nations. The extortionate terms dictated by the treaties placed a heavy burden upon the shoulders of the working people and led to the spread of revanchist and chauvinist moods, especially in Germany. The anti-Soviet trend of the Versailles system was also quite obvious. All this tended to make the international order ensuing from the Versailles system unstable.

*The failure of the anti-Soviet intervention.* After the Paris Peace Conference had ended, the leaders of the imperialist powers continued to intervene in Soviet Russia. The governments of the Entente countries made great efforts to encourage Soviet Russia's neighbouring states to join in the intervention. In these circumstances, the Soviet Government tried as hard as it could to split the united anti-Soviet front and to frustrate the intervention. On February 2, 1920, a peace treaty was signed between Estonia and the RSFSR, according to which the independence of the Estonian state was recognised. Similar treaties were signed with Lithuania (June 12, 1920) and Latvia (August 11, 1920). A peace treaty with Finland was signed in Yuriev (Tartu) on October 14, 1920. The problem of evacuating the Czechoslovak Corps from Russia was also settled. To avoid a military conflict with Japan, a Far Eastern Republic was founded on April 6, 1920, which acted as a buffer state between

Soviet Russia and Japan. These actions on the part of Soviet diplomacy were of no small importance in restoring normal relations between Soviet Russia and the neighbouring states.

The Soviet Government repeatedly called upon the Polish Government, too, to begin peace talks. But Poland also became a party to the anti-Soviet intervention. On April 25, 1920, the Polish forces equipped with materiel supplied by France, the USA, and Britain, attacked Soviet Russia. Simultaneously, Baron Wrangel's white-guard army, which was deployed in the Crimea, also launched an offensive. The Entente began another campaign. But by that time the Red Army had already grown considerably stronger and could offer a swift and decisive rebuff to the interventionists and white-guards. On July 22, 1920, the Polish Government submitted a proposal to Soviet Russia on peace negotiations. On October 12, 1920, an agreement on an armistice and preliminary peace terms was signed with Poland in Riga, and on March 18, 1921, a peace treaty was signed there. In these circumstances, the Soviet Government was forced to agree to the western areas of the Ukraine and Byelorussia being incorporated into Poland. Nevertheless, the end of the war with Poland did essentially signify the cessation of the foreign intervention against Soviet Russia. So, the Soviet Republic defended its independence and ensured itself the peace needed for socialist construction.

During the years of foreign intervention the Soviet Government began to establish new relations, based on genuine equality of rights, with the countries of the East. The Soviet-Iranian Treaty was signed in Moscow on February 26, 1921. According to this treaty, all agreements concluded by the tsarist government with Iran or other states encroaching upon the independence and sovereignty of Iran were annulled. Normal diplomatic, consular and trade relations were established between the two countries, and frontier conflicts were settled. The Soviet Government handed over to Iran gratuitously the money from the discount bank of Iran, and also all the movable and immovable property belonging to Russia but located on the territory of Iran, worth some 600 million gold roubles. Soviet Russia

also relinquished all the concessions wrung from Iran by the tsarist government. Both sides stated that they would refrain from interference in each other's internal affairs and would not allow the formation or presence on their territories of forces hostile to Iran and Soviet Russia and states allied to them. Article 6 of the treaty stipulated that in the case of the armed invasion of the territory of Iran on the part of any state, Soviet Russia had the right to bring its troops into the territory of Iran to take the necessary measures against the aggressor. The treaty of 1921 laid the foundation for new relations between Iran and Russia and assisted Iran in consolidating its independence and sovereignty.

One of the first states with which Soviet Russia established diplomatic relations was Afghanistan. On February 28, 1921, the Soviet-Afghan Treaty was signed in Moscow according to which both sides reciprocally recognised their independence and undertook not to enter into military or political agreements hostile to one another with a third power. The Soviet-Afghan Treaty played an important part in stabilising the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan and paved the way for friendly relations based on equality between the two countries.

The Soviet Government invariably spoke out in favour of the establishment of normal and friendly relations with Turkey as well. On March 16, 1921, the Treaty of Friendship and Fraternity was signed in Moscow between Soviet Russia and Turkey. According to the treaty, Turkey recovered the Ardagan and Kars districts, the Batumi district was handed over to Georgia, and the Nakhichevan region became part of Soviet Azerbaijan as an autonomous territory. All the old agreements were annulled. Soviet Russia released Turkey from its financial and other obligations concluded with tsarist Russia. The regime of capitulation was condemned. The question of the Straits was to be discussed at a future conference of the Black Sea littoral states. Soviet Russia provided Turkey with financial aid to the tune of 100 million gold roubles. It also rendered the military aid needed to combat foreign intervention. The Soviet-Turkish Treaty greatly facilitated the consolidation of Turkey's independence and international status and laid

the foundations for friendly relations between the two countries.

Friendly relations developed between Soviet Russia and Mongolia where a popular revolution was underway. In February 1918 and August 1919, the Soviet Government informed the Mongolian Government that it had abrogated the fettering tsarist agreements, cancelled Mongolia's debts, recognised its right to independence, and suggested that relations should be established on the basis of equality. In the autumn of 1920 the Mongolian revolutionaries sent their delegation to Moscow and an agreement was reached on the joint struggle against the whiteguard bands in Mongolia. On November 5, 1921, during the visit of the Mongolian delegation headed by Sukhe Bator to Moscow, an agreement was signed on the establishment of friendly relations between the RSFSR and Mongolia. The agreement led to the establishment of economic and political cooperation between the two countries. Soviet-Mongolian friendship became a pledge of Mongolia's independence, its development along the path to socialism, bypassing capitalism.

*The Washington Conference.* Soon after the First World War, the problem of reconsidering the spheres of influence in the Pacific and the Far East became a particularly acute one. The USA and Japan counted on strengthening and expanding the spheres of their dominion there. Taking advantage of the defeat of Germany and also the existence of contradictions between Britain and the USA, Japan reckoned on establishing its own monopoly on expansion in the Pacific region, especially in China. These strivings on the part of Japan were not to the liking of the American imperialists. And they also began to demand for themselves an "open door" and "equal opportunities" in the Pacific and in Asia. However, the USA lagged behind Japan and Britain in naval armaments. Therefore, the United States began to combine its striving for further expansion in the Pacific with the idea of limiting armaments.

A conference was convened in Washington from November 12, 1921, through February 6, 1922 on the initiative of the USA. The conference was attended by representatives of nine countries—the USA, Great Britain and its dominions, Japan, France, Italy, Belgium,

the Netherlands, Portugal, and China. Representatives of Soviet Russia and the Far Eastern Republic were not invited to the conference, although the questions considered at it touched upon the fundamental interests of the Soviet people.

The conference discussed the Far East problem and the question of limiting naval armaments. The outcome of it was the signing of several agreements. Thus, the Four-Power Treaty (the USA, Britain, France, and Japan) envisaged the reciprocal guarantees of its participants with regard to the security of their possessions in the Pacific. As a result of this, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance Treaty of 1911 was cancelled. The American imperialists were thereby able to put pressure on Britain, to break up its alliance with Japan and achieve the recognition of America's "equal rights and opportunities" in exploiting the countries of Asia. Essentially, the Four-Power Treaty meant combining the efforts of its participants in enslaving the countries of Asia and suppressing the national liberation movement there.

The USA also gained great advantages from the Nine-Power Treaty on the territorial integrity and independence of China. The American representatives managed to get the "open door" and "equal opportunities" principles in China included in the treaty. The aim of the American imperialists was to gradually oust their rivals from China.

The Five-Power Treaty (Britain, the USA, Japan, France, and Italy) Limiting Naval Armaments was also signed at the conference; according to this treaty the building of battleships with a displacement of more than 35,000 tons was prohibited. This was advantageous for the USA which lagged behind in the building of such ships, and, what is more, these vessels could not go through the Panama Canal. To the USA's satisfaction, the Washington Conference established the following proportions regarding the overall tonnage of battleships for Britain, the USA, Japan, France, and Italy, respectively—5:5:3:1,75:1,75. The Americans thereby managed to compel Britain to renounce the old rule that its fleets should not be weaker than the combined fleets of the two other strongest sea powers.

The Washington Conference was a great victory for

the USA in its rivalry with Japan and Britain for dominion in the Pacific. The decisions taken there were a kind of addition to the Versailles system of post-war treaties.

*The international conferences in Genoa and The Hague.* After the defeat of the foreign interventionists and the whiteguards, the imperialists were forced to give up armed intervention in the affairs of Soviet Russia. But they had calculated that they would be able to achieve the elimination of Bolshevism "by peaceful means", i.e. by means of starvation and economic blockade, and also by economic cooperation terms which could lead to the enslavement of Russia and to the abolition of Soviet power. Meanwhile, the capitalist countries, especially in Europe, needed to restore and promote economic relations with Russia; the required raw materials, oil in particular, and other traditional items of export.

Britain was the first to establish economic relations with Soviet Russia. On March 16, 1921, the Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement was signed, in which Britain recognised the Soviet state de facto. The political clauses of the agreement envisaged the reciprocal renunciation by the sides of hostile actions and propaganda against one another. The corresponding article referred to the renunciation of the blockade policy and the resumption of trade.

On May 6, 1921, a Trade Agreement was signed between the RSFSR and Germany which included articles on the recognition by Germany of the Soviet representation as the only lawful representation of Russia. Similar agreements were concluded between the Soviet state and Norway, Austria, Italy, Denmark, and Czechoslovakia. The government of the USA continued to take a negative stand regarding trade with Soviet Russia just as before.

The ruling circles in many capitalist states continued to insist on the payment by the Soviet Government of all the pre-war and wartime debts which amounted to more than 18,000 million gold roubles and on the return to foreign capitalists of the property nationalised in Russia or the payment of compensation for it. The Soviet Government declared its readiness to recognise Russia's pre-war foreign debts on certain conditions

and suggested that an international economic conference be convened. In this connection, the Entente powers decided to convene a conference of all the European states, including Soviet Russia, in Genoa.

The Genoa Conference, which was held in April and May 1922, was attended by the representatives of 29 states. The Soviet delegation was headed by Georgi Chicherin. On the instructions of the Soviet Government, he put forward a proposal at the first session of the conference on April 10, 1922, on the universal reduction of arms and armies of all countries, the complete prohibition of war, above all its most barbaric forms. The Soviet delegation also demanded that the countries involved in the anti-Soviet intervention compensate for the losses suffered by Soviet Russia. The Soviet claims amounted to the sum of 39,000 million gold roubles. The Soviet delegation declared its readiness to pay pre-war debts on definite terms and give preference to former owners of enterprises when granting concessions.

The representatives of the Western powers rejected the Soviet proposals and put forward their claims on Soviet Russia with regard to the debts and nationalised property. Moreover, the Western powers demanded that foreigners should be granted extensive rights in the sphere of economic and commercial activities in Soviet Russia similar to those they had in the colonial countries. The Soviet Government could not agree to such demands.

During the Genoa Conference the Soviet delegation achieved great diplomatic success, having signed a treaty between Soviet Russia and Germany on April 16, 1922, in Rapallo, in the suburbs of Genoa. In accordance with the treaty, diplomatic relations were established between the RSFSR and Germany. Both sides reciprocally renounced reimbursement for war expenditures and losses and also for the cost of keeping prisoners of war. Germany gave up its claims to the payment of old debts and compensation for the nationalised foreign property in Russia. The Rapallo Treaty served as a positive example of the settlement of relations between states with different social systems.

On May 19, 1922, the Genoa Conference was announced suspended. The conference was continued in

The Hague from June 26 through July 29, 1922. Just as before, the foreign diplomats insisted upon the satisfaction of their demands. The Soviet delegation agreed to make certain concessions, in particular, regarding the payment of part of the pre-war debts (without interest), if Soviet Russia were to obtain the respective credits. The imperialists did not accept this proposal, and the work of the conference again came to a halt. But the firm position of the Soviet Government prevented the capitalist countries from organising economic intervention in Soviet Russia.

*The Lausanne Conference.* In the autumn of 1922 the national liberation forces of Turkey drove the British and Greek interventionists out of the country, thereby putting an end to the Sevres Treaty. The foreign imperialists tried to involve Turkey in a fresh unequal treaty and put forward a proposal to hold a conference to conclude a peace treaty. The conference started in Lausanne, Switzerland, on November 20, 1922. It was attended by a Soviet delegation which energetically defended the interests of the Black Sea powers, including Turkey. The Soviet programme at the conference envisaged the protection of Turkey's national interests, the closing of the Straits to all warships in peacetime and in wartime and the complete freedom of commercial navigation.

Supported by France and Italy, the British delegation spoke in favour of the free passage of warships through the Straits both in peacetime and in wartime and also the demilitarisation of coastal areas and putting them under the control of an international commission in which not only the Black Sea powers would be represented. These proposals were aimed at violating the sovereign rights of Turkey, created a danger for the frontiers of the Soviet Union and other littoral states and placed the Straits' zone under the control of foreign imperialism, above all Great Britain. The Soviet delegation spoke out categorically against the British project. However, Turkey made concessions contrary to its own interests and the interests of the other Black Sea powers and did, in the main, agree to the British proposal.

The Lausanne Conference completed its work on July 24, 1923. Turkey managed to get back some of

its territories and abolish the capitulation regime and financial control by foreign capital. The convention on the Straits envisaged their disarmament and opening (with certain restrictions placed on the non-Black Sea powers) for the passage of the warships of all countries. International control was retained over the Straits. The Lausanne Conference clashed with the interests of the security of the Black Sea countries and therefore the USSR refused to ratify it.

## 2. International Relations in the Period of Partial Stabilisation of Capitalism (1924-1928)

The beginning of a period of partial, relative stabilisation of capitalism, on the one hand, and the start of socialist construction in the USSR, on the other, made a telling impact on international relations.

*The Dawes Plan.* In 1922 Germany raised the question of delaying payment of the reparations and refused to make the next payment. In response to this, in January 1923 France and Belgium sent their troops into the Ruhr area, thereby causing an acute international crisis. Not wishing for France to become stronger in Europe, the governments of the USA and Great Britain compelled it to make concessions with regard to the reparations. The London Conference held in August 1924 approved the report compiled by the commission of experts under the supervision of the American representative, General Charles Dawes (the Dawes Plan).

In accordance with this plan, France withdrew its troops from the Ruhr area. Every year Germany was to pay a certain sum of reparations (gradually increasing it from 1,000 million marks in 1924-1925 to 2,500 million marks in 1928-1929). The plan envisaged the granting to Germany of a large international loan (800 million marks chiefly from the USA). According to Dawes' recommendations the golden rain of American loans poured down on Germany. The German economy was made dependent on foreign, mainly American, capital. The main source of covering the reparations was to be the income of the state budget from high indirect taxes on consumer goods, and this meant lower

living standards. The Dawes Plan was intended to intensify Germany's foreign trade operations on the markets of the Soviet Union. The adoption of the Dawes Plan testified to the strengthening of the USA's positions in Europe and to the failure of the attempts by French imperialism to establish its hegemony.

*The Locarno Conference.* On October 5-16, 1925, a conference was held in Locarno, Switzerland, which was attended by representatives of Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. The Locarno Conference adopted the Rhine (guarantee) Pact which was called upon to ensure the inviolability of the French-German and Belgian-German frontiers. France, Belgium, and Germany undertook not to resort to war. The main guarantors of the Locarno agreements were Great Britain and Italy. The conference did not adopt a decision on the extension of the guarantees to the frontiers of Germany with Czechoslovakia and Poland. German imperialism was thereby given to understand that the path of its aggression to the East remained open. Germany received an invitation to join the League of Nations. The Locarno agreements were evidence of a further weakening of France's positions and marked a new step towards setting up and expanding the anti-Soviet coalition of the imperialist powers.

*The USSR's treaties with the neighbouring countries on neutrality and non-aggression.* The Soviet Government took diplomatic steps to lessen the anti-Soviet bias of the Locarno Conference. On April 24, 1926, a Treaty of Neutrality and Non-Aggression was signed by Germany and the USSR. In January 1925 the Soviet Union submitted to Poland a proposal on signing an agreement of non-aggression. As a result of the opposition of Poland and Great Britain, however, this pact was not concluded. The USSR only signed a treaty of neutrality with Lithuania on September 28, 1926.

Soviet diplomacy attained greater success in relations with its southern neighbours. Thus, on December 17, 1925, the USSR and Turkey signed a Non-Aggression and Neutrality Treaty. The negotiations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan on a Treaty of Neutrality and Mutual Non-Aggression (signed on August 31, 1926)

were successfully completed. On October 1, 1927, the Soviet-Iranian Guarantee and Neutrality Treaty and also trade and other economic agreements were signed in Moscow. All these agreements were fresh evidence of the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR and dealt a blow at the plans of the imperialists to isolate the Soviet state.

*The USSR's campaign for disarmament.* The last third of the 1920s was marked by a fresh aggravation of the international situation and a rising wave of anti-Soviet provocations. In April 1927, the reactionary quarters provoked an attack on Soviet diplomatic and consular institutions in China, and on May 27, 1927, the Government of Britain declared that diplomatic relations with the USSR were broken off and annulled the 1921 trade agreement. At that time Soviet-Polish relations were also aggravated due to the fact that the Soviet plenipotentiary P. L. Voikov was murdered by anti-Soviet elements in Poland.

In the worsening international situation the Soviet Union actively spoke out in favour of disarmament. In 1927, the Soviet delegation attended the session of the preparatory commission on disarmament convoked within the framework of the League of Nations. The head of the Soviet delegation, Maxim Litvinov, submitted a declaration at the session of this commission on the implementation of general and complete disarmament. But the commission evaded discussing the Soviet proposal. In 1928, at a regular session of the preparatory commission the Soviet Government came out with a draft convention on immediate, complete and general disarmament, which was also rejected. After this, the USSR drew up and proposed a draft convention on arms reduction, suggesting the implementation of partial measures on disarmament. But this proposal was not accepted either.

At the same time, the imperialist powers went out of their way to underscore their commitment to peace. Thus, on August 27, 1928, the Briand-Kellogg Pact on renunciation of war was signed, and the Soviet Union also joined that Pact. The Briand-Kellogg Pact condemned war as a means of solving international conflicts, contained the pledge of the contracting parties

to renounce war as an instrument of national policy, and demanded of them that they should resolve all conflicts by peaceful means.

### 3. International Relations

#### During the World Economic Crisis and on the Eve of the Second World War (1929-1939)

*The aggravation of world contradictions during the economic crisis. The Young Plan.* The economic crisis, which began in the capitalist countries in 1929, exacerbated all international contradictions. The world situation was extremely unstable and the tussle among the big capitalist powers to redivide the world intensified.

The question of reparations was one of the specific manifestations of worldwide contradictions. In August 1929 and January 1930, a committee of experts, headed by US representative Owen Young, drew up new recommendations regarding reparations. According to the plan the sum of annual reparations payments in Germany was to be decreased by 20 per cent. Germany was also entitled to take upon itself the responsibility for reparations installments, including the right to defer them in case of difficulties in meeting payments. It was figured that Germany would be making installments or paying off its debts right up to the year 1988. But once the world economic crisis had started, Germany was incapable of paying the reparations contributions. Therefore, soon after the Young Plan was approved, the Government of Germany posed the question of stopping payments. At the Lausanne Conference in 1932 the reparations question was, in fact, abolished. The conference took a decision on redeeming by Germany of its reparations obligations for 3,000 million marks with the repayment of bonds within fifteen years.

*New peaceful initiatives of the USSR.* Under conditions of economic crisis world reaction again began to trumpet from the housetops that there was "a Soviet danger". The big capitalist countries began to boycott Soviet goods and impede normal trade relations. The most reactionary forces made fresh attempts to create

a united anti-Soviet front. Plans for an anti-Soviet campaign were nurtured by the French General Staff. In May 1930, French Minister for Foreign Affairs Aristide Briand put forward the idea of setting up a bloc of continental European states excluding the USSR (the Pan-Europe project).

To prevent a united anti-Soviet front from being set up the USSR, just as before, attributed no small importance to the promotion of trade relations and also to non-aggression treaties, especially with the neighbouring countries. On December 17, 1929, the 1925 Soviet-Turkish Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality was prolonged. On June 24, 1931, the Treaty for Neutrality and Mutual Non-Aggression was signed by the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. That same day the Soviet Union and Germany signed a Protocol on prolonging the 1926 Neutrality Treaty. Overcoming the resistance offered by the reactionary circles in Poland, the Soviet Union succeeded in signing a non-aggression and neutrality treaty with it on July 25, 1932. A treaty of non-aggression was signed by the Soviet Union and France on November 29, 1932. The USSR concluded similar treaties with Finland on January 21, 1932, with Latvia on February 5, 1932, and with Estonia on May 4, 1932. The conclusion of these treaties was a considerable contribution by the USSR to the strengthening of international security and expanding cooperation among states.

The new period of diplomatic recognition of the USSR by a number of capitalist states was evidence of the successes gained by Soviet foreign policy. Of great importance was the establishment on November 16, 1933, of diplomatic relations between the USSR and USA. This act became a significant event in international life. In 1933, diplomatic relations were also established between the USSR and Spain; in 1934, between the USSR and Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Albania; in 1935, with Belgium, Luxembourg and Colombia.

*Japanese aggression in China and the formation of a hotbed of war in the Far East.* The economic crisis intensified the competition among the imperialist powers to redivide the spheres of influence in Asia and in the Far East. Simultaneously, the foreign imperialists tried

to cause a rift between China and the USSR, its natural ally in the struggle against the colonisers. In 1929, the Chinese militarists seized the Chinese Eastern Railway which was under the joint control of China and the USSR. Together with the whiteguard troops they invaded the Soviet Primorye and the Trans-Baikal area. Soviet-Chinese diplomatic relations were broken off through the fault of the Chinese side. The Red Army resolutely repulsed the aggressors and drove them out of Soviet territory.

In the autumn of 1931, Japan launched its aggressive programme which had been formulated back in 1927 by Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka in a secret memorandum. It outlined plans for Japanese aggression in Asia: the seizure of Manchuria, Mongolia, and the whole of China as well as India and territories belonging to the Soviet Union.

On September 18, 1931, Japan made an attack on China and soon occupied its north-eastern provinces (Manchuria). Japanese aggression not only created a threat to China, the USSR, and the Mongolian People's Republic, but also touched upon the interests of the USA and Britain in the Far East and in Asia. In spite of this, neither of these latter powers manifested any striving to curb Japanese aggression. Thus, the first hotbed of a new world war emerged with their connivance. At the beginning of 1933, the Japanese troops seized new regions of China. To give itself free rein, in March 1933 Japan gave up its membership of the League of Nations.

*The creation by German fascism of the main hotbed of war.* In the economic crisis the danger of fascism became more imminent in the capitalist countries. The coming to power of the Nazis in Germany in January 1933 had particularly telling consequences for the entire international situation. The Nazis put forward extensive revanchist goals, and subjugated the whole of their policy to preparations for war and the winning of world domination.

To make it easier to pursue its militaristic policy, Nazi Germany left the League of Nations in October 1933. On March 13, 1935, Germany refused to honour the articles in the Versailles Treaty forbidding it to have

military aircraft. Three days later compulsory conscription was introduced in Germany and in September 1936 the four-year plan for the militarisation of the whole economy was approved. These measures only evoked mild reproaches from the League of Nations. The ruling circles in Britain, France, and the USA hoped that Germany was arming itself for a war against the USSR and therefore connived at its aggressive policy in every possible way. On June 13, 1935, Britain signed the naval agreement with Germany according to which it did not object to Germany building up its navy.

Thus, in the first half of the 1930s Nazi Germany emerged as the second, main hotbed of war in Europe. Fascist Italy was also setting out on the path of aggression. A triple alliance of Germany, Japan and Italy was formed. In 1936, an agreement was concluded between Germany and Italy (the Berlin-Rome Axis), on November 25, 1936, Japan and Germany signed the Anti-Comintern Pact which was later joined by Italy. The world was on the brink of a new world war.

*The Geneva Disarmament Conference.* At this critical period in the history of mankind the USSR campaigned against the arms race, the growing danger of war, the aggressive actions of the fascist regimes, and for the creation of a system of collective security. The Soviet Union was actively involved in the preparations for and holding of an international disarmament conference, which started in Geneva on February 2, 1932, and was attended by 63 countries. The conference was the scene of acute struggle among the imperialist states. Instead of disarmament or arms reduction each capitalist country essentially strove to get solutions adopted that would allow it to gain an advantage. France proposed the setting up of an international army within the framework of the League of Nations in the hope of ensuring itself the decisive role in it. The British wanted to gain an advantage in the air force and the prohibition of submarines since it lagged behind in this type of armaments. Under the pretext of trying to gain equality in armaments, the German delegation did, in fact, speak out in favour of Germany's right to be armed, and to catch up with the other imperialist powers.

The Soviet delegation at the conference called upon

all states to renounce war as a means of implementing their national policies. It consistently spoke out in favour of general, complete and immediate disarmament or for proportional, partial, stage-by-stage cuts of the armed forces. On February 6, 1933, the Soviet delegation submitted a draft declaration on the definition of an aggressor for consideration by the conference. The capitalist countries' delegates rejected the Soviet proposal. In spite of the impediments offered by the West, on July 3-5, 1933, the USSR concluded the Convention on the Definition of Aggression with Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Romania, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Lithuania. Later on, Finland also became a party to the convention.

At the beginning of October 1933, the German delegation refused to take any further part in the conference. The other imperialist powers did not agree to actual arms reduction. All this predetermined the conference's failure.

*Efforts to create a system of collective security.* One of the first measures towards setting up a system of collective security in Europe was the Soviet-French negotiations (1934) on concluding a multilateral regional treaty on mutual assistance (the Eastern Pact). However, the idea of the Eastern Pact was not to the liking of the aggressively-minded states. Germany, for example, declared its refusal to join the Eastern Pact. In 1935, the talks on the Eastern Pact ended fruitlessly.

On September 15, 1934, thirty member states of the League of Nations extended an invitation to the Soviet Union to join it. The Soviet Government took the decision to join the League of Nations but refused to be bound by any resolutions adopted by it earlier. With the growing danger of war, the Soviet Union decided it possible to join the League of Nations and use its platform to restrain the warmongers. The League of Nations voted in favour of the Soviet Union being accepted as a member of it and the inclusion of its representative in the Council of the League as a permanent member. This event was extremely important from an international point of view.

After the negotiations on the Eastern Pact had been frustrated by the imperialist powers, the USSR took fresh steps to create a system of collective security. The Soviet

Government submitted a proposal to the Government of France on concluding a Soviet-French treaty of mutual assistance. The French Government agreed, and on May 2, 1935, the Soviet-French Treaty of Mutual Assistance was signed. According to the Treaty, in the event of a threat of aggression against one of them by any European state, the parties undertook to start immediate consultations for the purpose of taking measures according to Article 10 of the League of Nations Statute which provided for mutual guarantees of the territorial integrity of the League of Nations member states. The Treaty further mentioned that if one of the contracting parties was the victim of unprovoked aggression, the other party to the agreement should render it immediate assistance and support.

On May 16, 1935, a similar treaty of mutual assistance was signed between the USSR and Czechoslovakia. On the request of the Czechoslovak side, the following clause was introduced into the treaty: "At the same time, the two governments recognise that the undertakings to render mutual assistance will operate between them only in so far as, given the conditions laid down in the present Treaty, assistance is rendered by France to the party victim of the aggression." Hence, this addition to the agreement envisaged restrictions on any possible Soviet aid to Czechoslovakia, and vice versa. Nevertheless, the conclusion of the Soviet-French and Soviet-Czechoslovak treaties of mutual assistance acquired a nature of a tripartite agreement, and thereby provided the prerequisites for organising collective security.

From the mid-1930s onwards, the fascist states in Europe started to be more and more active in pursuing an aggressive policy. On October 3, 1935, fascist Italy started a war against Ethiopia. Italy's aggression did not meet any resistance on the part of the USA, Britain, and France.

The Italian aggression further heightened international tension, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean. In this connection, the question of revising the Black Sea Straits regime established at the Lausanne Conference became extremely acute. On June 22, 1936, at the suggestion of Turkey an international conference was held in Montreux, Switzerland, to deal with the regime of the Straits.

The Soviet delegation suggested restricting the passage

through the Straits for the warships of non-Black Sea powers and conceding the Black Sea powers the right of unimpeded passage. The Western powers were opposed to the Soviet proposal and the Turkish delegation tended to support them.

However, the firm and consistent policy pursued by the Soviet delegation resulted in the adoption of an acceptable convention on the regime of the Straits. It restored Turkey's sovereignty over the Straits. The International Straits Commission which had existed since 1923 was dissolved. The right of Turkey to remilitarise the Straits was acknowledged. Freedom of passage through the Straits was ensured for the merchant marine both in peacetime and in wartime. On the most important question—the passage of warships—the convention established different terms for the Black Sea and non-Black Sea powers. The Black Sea countries were in fact conceded unrestricted rights regarding the passage of their warships of any class through the Straits in peacetime. For the non-Black Sea states restrictions were introduced both on the numbers and the tonnage of the ships: only light surface ships were permitted to sail through the Straits. Should Turkey go to war, it had the right to permit or prohibit the passage of all warships through the Straits. During the war in which Turkey was not fighting the Straits should be closed to warships of any power at war. The conference in Montreux was to a certain extent a step forward in safeguarding the interests of the Black Sea states. But the convention did not guarantee the necessary security for the Black Sea countries.

In 1936, the situation in Europe had become even more acute owing to the confrontation between the Popular Front and the forces of fascism in Spain. The Spanish reactionaries were supported by the fascists in Germany and Italy, who began their intervention in Spain, in the summer of 1936. The German-Italian intervention in Spain threatened the interests of Britain and France in the basin of the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. However, the governments of these countries did nothing to stop the aggression. The government of France, Britain and later the USA declared that they would pursue a policy of "non-interference in the events in Spain",

which was in the interests of the aggressors and the reactionaries.

The progressive public throughout the world resolutely came out in support of the Spanish Republic, exposed the fascist rebels and demanded that the German and Italian fascists should cease their intervention in Spain. The Soviet Government rendered great moral and diplomatic support, and military and material aid to Republican Spain.

On July 7, 1937, Japan started a big war against China and in a short space of time it had occupied Beijing, Tianjing, Shanghai, and a number of other cities in China. The ruling circles in the USA, Britain, and France did not offer any substantial opposition to the expansion of Japan's aggression in the Far East, although it spelled a threat to their interests. They still hoped to spearhead Japan against the USSR and suppress the revolutionary movement in China with Japan's help. Only the Soviet Union rendered China real support right from the early days of the war. On August 21, 1937, a non-aggression treaty was concluded between the USSR and China which provided China with reliable rear during Japanese aggression. Moreover, the Soviet Union granted China loans and provided it with weapons and materiel. In the League of Nations the USSR insistently tried to get the Japanese aggressors condemned and effective measures taken against them.

Meanwhile, Japan was preparing to attack Soviet territory. At the end of the 1930s Soviet-Japanese relations became very strained. On July 29, 1938, detachments of Japanese and Manchurian troops crossed the Soviet frontier near Lake Khasan and engaged in battle with units of the Red Army. The armed provocations by the Japanese military here continued until August 10, but each time the Japanese were forced to retreat under the blows of the Red Army.

Despite their defeat in the battle at Lake Khasan, the Japanese imperialists committed a new act of aggression. In May 1939 Japanese troops began military operations against the Mongolian People's Republic near the river Khalkhin Gol. True to its allied duty and in accordance with the Soviet-Mongolian protocol of 1936 the Soviet Union came to the aid of the Mongolian people. In the

course of fierce fighting lasting four months, the units of the Japanese army were routed. In September 1939, a Soviet-Japanese agreement was signed in Moscow on the cessation of hostilities. The rebuff received by Japanese aggressors in the Mongolian People's Republic showed Japan that a war with the Soviet Union did not promise easy victories. This somewhat lessened the danger of Japan invading the Soviet Far East.

Concurrently with the aggravation of the situation in the Far East the danger of fascist aggression in Europe had increased. Germany was intensively preparing for a second world war. On March 7, 1936, the Nazis brought their troops into the demilitarised Rhine zone and reached the frontiers of France.

On March 12, 1938, Hitler's troops occupied Austria and a day later annexed it to the German Reich. Then Nazi Germany began to prepare its assault on Czechoslovakia. In April 1938, the Soviet Government declared its readiness to take all measures to safeguard the security of Czechoslovakia with or even without France's participation. At the same time, the Soviet Union set about making concrete preparations for war. Large forces of the Red Army (including thirty infantry divisions, tanks and aircraft) were transferred to the western border.

But the Western powers decided to sacrifice Czechoslovakia to Nazi Germany.

On September 29-30, 1938, a conference attended by Hitler, Mussolini, Daladier and Chamberlain, and in the absence of representatives of Czechoslovakia, was held in Munich at which an agreement was signed on Germany's annexation of the Sudetenland, which was part of Czechoslovakia, and the transfer of some of its other territories to Hungary and Poland. On March 15, 1939, Germany suddenly invaded Czechoslovakia and seized the whole of its territory. Thus, nazism committed yet another act of aggression with the direct support of the Western powers.

In Germany's wake, Italy became more active in its aggression. On April 7, 1939, Italy attacked Albania and then occupied it. Fascism increasingly created a threat to universal peace.

*The talks among the USSR, Britain and France in 1939. The Soviet-German non-aggression pact (1939).*

Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations were held in the spring and summer of 1939 in the course of which the USSR made yet another attempt to set up a system of collective rebuff to German aggression. At the talks the Soviet Government put forward the draft of an equal and effective Anglo-French-Soviet treaty of mutual assistance. The draft contained the mutual obligations of the three countries to immediately render each other all kinds of assistance, including military aid, should any of the contracting parties be the victim of aggression in Europe, and also to render the same kind of aid to the East European states bordering on the USSR from the Baltic to the Black seas, should any of them be the victim of aggression. The Soviet Union proposed that a military convention be signed at the same time as the political treaty. But Britain and France rejected the Soviet proposals and countered them with their own drafts, which placed the USSR in an unequal position, did not envisage aid to the USSR should it be the victim of aggression, extended guarantees only to Poland and Romania, did not safeguard the security of the Soviet frontiers in the case of the aggressor invading the USSR from Finland, Estonia, or Latvia.

The Western powers were particularly active in resisting the signing of a specific and effective military convention. On August 12-21, 1939, talks of the military missions of the three countries—the USSR, Britain, and France—were held in Moscow. The military delegations of Britain and France were represented by minor figures, and, what is more, the British representative came to Moscow without being vested with any powers to conduct the negotiations. Right from the very outset of the talks it could be seen that the British and the French military missions had no specific plans for military cooperation and only suggested discussing the common goals and the principles of such cooperation. As a result, Britain and France frustrated the negotiations with the USSR, giving Germany to understand that the Soviet state had no allies.

Meanwhile, secret Anglo-German talks, started in London in July 1939, were in progress. At the talks the British put forward a plan for dividing up the world markets, including those of China and the USSR, for

turning Eastern and South-East Europe into a German sphere of influence, suggested concluding a pact of non-interference and an agreement on the colonial question, promising Germany access to the African colonies. Moreover, Britain proposed concluding an Anglo-German non-aggression pact, which led to Britain renouncing its support for Poland should it be the victim of aggression, as was guaranteed in Poland's agreement with Britain and France. Britain also promised to induce France to renounce its alliance with the USSR and its obligations in South-East Europe. These facts are evidence that for Britain the talks in Moscow were a kind of "small change" for the Anglo-German negotiations.

For its part, Germany was playing a double game with Britain and France. It regarded concessions made by them as a manifestation of weakness, as an attempt, from Germany's point of view, to prematurely push it into a conflict with the Soviet Union, which it had not yet ventured to fight. Therefore, the German Government turned to the Soviet Union with a proposal on concluding a non-aggression pact. Although the Soviet Government was well aware that Britain and France were consciously dragging out the negotiations and were leading them to frustration, it did not give Germany a reply. Not until it became clear that Britain and France had foiled an agreement with the Soviet Union, did the Soviet Government resolve to accept the German Government's proposal regarding a non-aggression pact, in order to avoid the trap into which the imperialists of Britain, France, and the USA had intended to lure it, and also taking advantage of the inter-imperialist contradictions in the interests of peace and security. The Soviet-German pact was signed on August 23, 1939, and contained the obligations to restrain from aggression with regard to one another, observe neutrality if one of the contracting parties should become involved in hostilities, and to resolve controversial issues by peaceful means.

By signing this treaty, the Soviet Government foiled the plans of the international reaction, which had calculated on a conflict between the USSR and Germany in circumstances that were extremely disadvantageous for the Soviet Union. The treaty prevented the formation of a united front against the USSR by the European

imperialist powers. So, for a period of nearly two years, Soviet people had the opportunity to make preparations to resist the aggressor, to consolidate the position of socialism and to campaign for peace and democracy.

## Chapter 2

### THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM IN THE USSR

*The emergence of socialism. Formation of the first socialist state.* The significance of the October Revolution in world history lies in the fact that it initiated the establishment of world socialism. The Great October Socialist Revolution led to the rise of the world's first socialist state, which was originally called Soviet Russia. On November 7 (October 25, Old Style), 1917, under the leadership of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party, an armed uprising was carried out by the working class in Petrograd, the capital of Russia. As a result, power was turned over to the Soviet government—the organ of the working class and the working peasantry. In the largest country in the world, Russia, which covered one-sixth of the world's land mass, a socialist revolution had been accomplished. The power of the capitalists was overthrown, the bourgeois state apparatus destroyed and a dictatorship of the proletariat established in the form of Soviets. The Second Congress of Soviets, held on November 7-8 (October 25-26), 1917, announced to the world the birth of the first proletarian state, formed the Soviet government with Lenin at its head, and adopted the Decree on Peace and the Decree on Land.

Following the success of the armed uprising in Petrograd, a triumphal march of Soviet power began throughout the country. The armed rebellion gained a victory in Moscow. The working people then established Soviet power in other major centres of the country. By February 1918, Soviet power had been established in virtually all the territory of Russia, including the Baltic area, the Northern Caucasus, Central Asia, Siberia and other areas.

The creation of favourable international conditions

for building socialism was of paramount importance for the young Soviet state. Soviet power pulled the country out of the bloody imperialist war, saved it from national catastrophe, averted the threat of the Russian people's enslavement by foreign capital and opened the way for the building of a new society—socialism. A short peace-time respite was used to begin the construction of a new life. Thus, the October Revolution led to a radical turn in the history of Russia and in the destiny of its peoples.

In a short period the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government carried out a number of fundamental democratic and socialist changes. Immediately following the victory of the revolution, the country commenced building the Soviet socialist state. The Soviets became the state form of the new social system. The creation of the Red Army and of organs of state security began. The old state apparatus was pulled down and a new, Soviet apparatus erected. Soviet power proclaimed and guaranteed broad democratic rights and freedoms and the equality and sovereignty of all the country's peoples and nationalities. The chains of national oppression were broken and the peoples subjugated by tsarist Russia were granted the right to independent national development.

The Congress of Soviets held in January 1918 proclaimed the formation of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (RSFSR). In July 1918, at the All-Russia Congress of Soviets, the first Soviet Constitution, the Constitution of the RSFSR, was adopted.

The Soviet Government promoted socialist transformations in the economy and social relations. The land was nationalised, and workers' control was introduced over production and distribution; nationalisation of the banks and capitalist industrial enterprises and foreign trade was started, and foreign and domestic loans were annulled. The newly formed Supreme Economic Council was responsible for the management of the economy. A cultural revolution also began in the country. Schools, universities, libraries, and theatres became accessible to the people at large. The press, literature, arts, and the achievements of science and culture were put at the service of the working people. A national campaign against illiteracy was launched. All these measures undermined the dominion of the exploiter classes and demon-

strated the genuinely popular nature of Soviet power.

Soviet power immediately came up against the bitter resistance of the united forces of foreign imperialism and internal counter-revolution. The exploiter classes overthrown by the revolution launched a civil war and, receiving support from foreign imperialists, sought to destroy the Soviet state. For a period of almost five years, the working people of Soviet Russia repulsed the fierce attacks of internal counter-revolutionaries and foreign interventionists. Military intervention against the young Soviet Republic came from the USA, Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, and several other countries (14 powers in all). The period of foreign armed intervention and Civil War continued mainly from 1918 through 1920.

In January 1918, with the support of the Entente, Romania occupied Bessarabia, a territory of Soviet Russia. On March 9, 1918, interventionist troops landed in Murmansk. In April, Japanese and British detachments invaded the Soviet Far East, and on June 29, 1918, American troops arrived there as well. In violation of the Brest Treaty, German troops occupied the Ukraine and the Donbas, advanced on the Don, invaded the Kursk, Orlov and Voronezh provinces, and seized the Crimea. Together with White Finns, German detachments entered the territory of Soviet Russia on the Karelian Isthmus. In the Caucasus, a number of provinces were occupied by Turkish troops. On May 26, 1918, an anti-Soviet revolt of the Czechoslovak corps began, which led to the temporary overthrow of Soviet power in a number of cities from Penza to Siberia. In August 1918, the British seized Archangel, invaded Turkestan and Transcaucasia, and occupied Baku.

The foreign intervention was accompanied by an increase in the activities of the counter-revolutionary underground (the conspiracies of Bruce Lockhart in Moscow and Francis Cromie in Petrograd). Counter-revolutionaries committed a number of terrorist acts (the murders of Uritsky and Volodarsky, the serious wounding of Lenin). The imperialists set up an economic blockade and pursued a policy of diplomatic isolation against Soviet Russia.

A huge area (three quarters of the entire country, in the summer of 1918), where whiteguard counter-

revolutionary governments were set up, was temporarily in the hands of the enemies of Soviet power. In November 1918, the whiteguard Admiral Kolchak was proclaimed the "supreme ruler" of Russia. From July 5 to 7, 1918, the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries staged a counter-revolutionary revolt in Moscow, which was quashed. Similar revolts flared up in other places in the country.

In 1919-1920, three campaigns against the Soviet Republic were undertaken by the Entente. In the spring of 1919, Kolchak's forces reinforced by the foreign interventionists and the armies of General Denikin and General Yudenich launched the first campaign. In July, the Entente began its second campaign with an offensive on Moscow by the whiteguard troops, mainly Denikin's army. The Entente's third campaign was organised in the spring of 1920 with the forces mainly of the landowner Poland and the whiteguard army of Baron Wrangel. All three of the Entente campaigns were repulsed by the forces of the Red Army. By the end of 1920, the interventionist and whiteguard troops had been crushed. The Red Army helped the peoples of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, and the Caucasus to subdue the resistance of the counter-revolutionaries and interventionists. In the Far East, the war against the interventionists continued until 1922. In April 1920, the Far Eastern Republic was founded there which acted as a buffer state in the struggle against the anti-Soviet forces in that area. In November 1922, the Far Eastern Republic joined the RSFSR. The Soviet socialist system was consolidated on virtually all of the territories of former tsarist Russia.

All the revolutionary forces of the Soviet Republic were mobilised to rebuff the interventionists and counter-revolutionaries. In 1918-1919, the Soviet Government was compelled to take emergency economic and political measures known as the policy of war communism, including the surplus-appropriation system (peasants were obliged to hand over to the state all their grain surpluses). At the Eighth Party Congress in March 1919, a new Party programme, worked out by Lenin, was adopted which outlined the prospects for the struggle of the Soviet people to build socialism.

After the foreign interventionists and internal counter-revolution had been defeated, the Soviet state set about

restoring the national economy, which had been greatly damaged by the imperialist and civil wars lasting seven years. The state of the economy in the Land of Soviets was extremely grave. In 1920, the volume of industrial output was 13.8 per cent of the pre-war level (1913). The output of agriculture had halved in that time. The dislocation in industry and transport was further worsened by famine. In these circumstances, part of the population began to express their discontent. Anti-Soviet revolts flared up in a number of places in the latter half of 1920 and in 1921.

It was in this situation that the Communist Party and the Soviet Government made vigorous efforts to go over to peaceful construction. In December 1920, the plan for the electrification of the republic (the GOELRO Plan) was adopted. It was precisely at that time that Lenin put forward the historic slogan for the building of the new society: "Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country."<sup>1</sup>

At the same time, Soviet power replaced its policy of war communism by the New Economic Policy (NEP). At the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), in March 1921, on Lenin's suggestion, a decision was taken to go over from the surplus-appropriation system to tax in kind. The NEP was calculated to use the market, trade and monetary circulation to revive the country's economic life. In the beginning, it led to the activation of capitalist elements in the towns and countryside, to the aggravation of the class struggle. But it simultaneously consolidated the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and created conditions for the transition to active socialist construction. The NEP accelerated the restoration of the national economy and this made it possible to begin building a socialist economy.

At the same time, the Soviet republics rallied together. In 1922, on the territory of former tsarist Russia, besides the RSFSR, there were the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Azerbaijan, Armenian and Georgian Soviet Socialist Republics, the Turkmen Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the Khorezm People's Soviet Republic, and

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets", *Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, Vol. 31, p. 516.

the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic. In March 1922, the three Caucasian republics formed the Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Republic. On the initiative of the Communist Party, a campaign evolved in the republics in favour of forming a single federal state, the principles of which were elaborated by Lenin. On December 30, 1922, the First Congress of Soviets of the USSR began in Moscow which adopted the Declaration on the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

At the Second Congress of Soviets of the USSR, on January 31, 1924, the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was adopted. In accordance with this Constitution, the working people of the USSR were guaranteed broad democratic rights and freedoms. Only the class elements hostile to socialism were temporarily deprived of suffrage.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin died on January 21, 1924. His untimely death was an enormous, irreparable loss for the Soviet people. Not all leaders of the Party shared Lenin's views on the questions of socialist construction. L. D. Trotsky and his followers, for instance, denied the possibility of building socialism in the face of surrounding capitalism. However, the majority of the Party did not support them.

*Building the foundations of socialism.* Despite the fact that Lenin had worked out the concept for building socialism, socialist construction did not have an easy beginning, not only in terms of the ideological and political struggle but also in terms of finding concrete paths and forms. In addition, the time factor was of critical importance. The specific conditions of the 20s and 30s inexorably dictated to the Soviet state the need for an extremely strenuous pace in building the new society and ensuring the country's defence capability. The pre-war level of economic development had in the main been reached by 1926.

But this level did not correspond to the needs of the new social system. The Communist Party launched a policy of industrialising the country, of turning it into a powerful socialist state. In December 1925, the 14th Congress of the Communist Party substantiated and put forward the task of effecting the socialist industrialisation of the USSR, of creating the material and technical

basis of socialism and of turning the country into a socialist power which would be economically independent of the capitalist states.

At the 15th Congress of the Communist Party, which took place in December 1927, the directives for drawing up the first five-year plan were formulated and a policy of collectivising peasant holdings was approved. By that time, there were as many as 25 million small peasant holdings in the country, which could not satisfy the country's needs in foodstuffs and raw materials.

In 1929, mass cooperation among the peasant holdings got underway. Collective farms (*kolkhozes*) and state farms (*sovkhозes*) were founded in the countryside, and the first machine and tractor stations appeared. The collectivisation of agriculture was a new and difficult matter to be tackled by the Party and the people. Errors were made and there were inevitably shortcomings: the rates of collectivisation were accelerated unduly, the principle of voluntariness was violated, sometimes peasants of average means (middle peasants) were mistakenly dispossessed as kulaks, and there were cases of agricultural communes being formed instead of production artels. During collectivisation a policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class was pursued. Here too, excesses occurred. At this stage, there was a lack of a concerned, Leninist attitude toward the working peasantry. Collectivisation was accomplished primarily through administrative methods. But on the whole, collectivisation led to the radical transformation of peasant life along socialist lines, created a base for the modernisation of the agrarian sector and significantly increased its labour productivity.

The first five-year plan was put into effect in the Soviet state from 1929 to 1932. Its main task was to set up a mighty industry in the country capable of restructuring all branches of the economy on a socialist basis. The bulk of the capital investments was intended for the development of heavy industry. Mass socialist emulation, which mainly took the form of the movement of shock-workers in production, evolved in the country during the first five-year-plan period.

The 16th Party Congress, held in the summer of 1930, went down in history as the congress at which the offensive of socialism on all fronts was launched and the task was

set of introducing collectivisation throughout the country. The state sector was already predominant in the economy. The congress supported the workers' initiative to fulfil the five-year plan in four years; it noted the need to speed up industrialisation of the country and to complete the collectivisation of agriculture by the end of the five-year period. After the congress, the Party and the Government took a series of measures aimed at completing collectivisation. The policy pursued by the Party and the government to modernise all branches of the economy, using the latest technology, was of vital importance.

By the beginning of 1933, the first-five-year plan had been fulfilled ahead of schedule (in four years and three months). Its most important outcome was that the USSR had been transformed from an agrarian into an industrial-collective-farm socialist country. In 1932, the share of industry in the economy was 70.7 per cent, and the volume of its output was 167 per cent larger than in 1913. Soviet people built and put into operation 1,500 industrial enterprises furnished with the latest technology of that time. Such new branches of industry appeared in the country as tractor, motor car, aircraft, and machine-tool building, heavy and agricultural engineering, non-ferrous metallurgy and the chemical industry. The GOELRO Plan was overfulfilled, and the country's second coal mining and metallurgical centre was set up in the Kuzbas (Kuznetsk coal basin). The Turkestan-Siberian Railway, the Stalingrad Tractor Works, the Rostov Farm Machine Works, the motor works in Moscow and Gorky, the Dnieper Hydroelectric Power Station, the Urals heavy engineering plant, the Magnitogorsk metallurgical combine, and other large enterprises, which became symbols of the USSR's industrialisation, were commissioned. A powerful defence industry was also created. The national republics and outlying regions of the USSR made particularly great progress in industrial development. The foundation of a socialist economy was thus laid in the country.

In 1932, 61.5 per cent of the peasant holdings, to which 77.7 per cent of the sown area belonged, were amalgamated into cooperatives. One hundred and twenty-one thousand tractors as well as other agricultural machinery were delivered to the countryside. As a result, new,

socialist production relations took root in the countryside. The last, but most numerous exploiter class, that of the kulaks, was eliminated. The alliance of the working class and the peasantry had grown stronger.

Other changes of a socialist nature in the country were the abolition of unemployment, an end to the exploitation of man by man and the improvement of the material wellbeing and cultural level of Soviet people. By the end of the five-year period the national income had increased by 217 per cent against 1913. The changeover to universal compulsory schooling contributed greatly to promoting the cultural revolution, and achievements in science, art and literature were great. In 1934, the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers was held.

The 17th Party Congress, which approved the second five-year plan (1933-1937), set the task of fully eradicating the capitalist elements in the country once and for all, completing the modernisation of the economy and the collectivisation of agriculture, raising the material and cultural level of the people, and so forth.

Guided by the Party, the Soviet people put every effort into fulfilling the new five-year plan. At that time, the most important element was the training of personnel to master the latest technology. In this connection, the Communist Party put forward the motto, "Personnel decide everything". Socialist emulation was raised to a higher level. Thanks to the workers' enthusiasm, the second five-year plan was also fulfilled ahead of schedule, in four years and three months.

The volume of industrial output increased 2.2 times against 1932, 4.5 times against 1928, and almost six times against 1913. Some 4,500 new industrial projects went into operation during the second five-year plan. Heavy industry particularly grew apace (8.1 times against 1913). As a result, the USSR became a mighty industrial power, independent of the capitalist countries economically.

Collectivisation was largely completed in agriculture, 243,500 collective farms being set up in the country, amalgamating 93 per cent of the peasant farmsteads. The collective-farm fields covered more than 99 per cent of the sown area. At the Second Congress of Foremost Collective Farmers in February 1935 Model Rules of the

Agricultural Artel were adopted. The mechanisation of agriculture continued, and in 1937 there were 456,000 tractors, 128,800 combine harvesters, and 146,000 lorries.

During the second five-year-plan period the Soviet country progressed even further in improving the well-being of its people, developing their culture, and solving the national question. In December 1936, the USSR comprised eleven constituent Soviet socialist republics: the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia—all of them republics with a highly developed industry and a large-scale mechanised agriculture. Some areas of the country went over to socialism, by-passing the capitalist stage of development. National personnel were being trained, and some nationalities gained their own written language for the first time.

The laying of the foundations of a socialist economy, the victory of socialist production relations in the towns and countryside, and the elimination of all the exploiter classes meant that the basis of socialism had been built in the USSR, that socialism had come out victorious. This was a world-historic achievement of the Soviet people.

The gains of socialism in the USSR were recorded in the new Constitution of the USSR, which was approved on December 5, 1936, at the All-Union Congress of Soviets. The Constitution introduced universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot. On December 12, 1937, elections were held to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, on the basis of this Constitution. The vast majority of the electorate voted for the candidates from the bloc of Communists and non-Party members.

At the end of the thirties, a new period began in the USSR's development. The 18th Congress of the Communist Party (1939) approved the third five-year plan (1938-1942), which envisaged a 92 per cent increase in industrial output by 1942. In the three years preceding the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) some 3,000 new industrial enterprises were commissioned in the USSR. Owing to the growing war danger and then the outbreak of the Second World War, the USSR paid particular attention to building up its defence capacity and developing its defence industry.

By the time of Nazi Germany's attack on the country,

the USSR had become a mighty power. In 1940, heavy industry in the USSR was producing almost 12 times more output than that of Russia in 1913. In the volume of its industrial output the USSR was first in Europe and second in the world. Industrialisation and collectivisation, the development of the cultural revolution and other transformations effected in the USSR in a short historical period put it among the major powers of the world.

The USSR became the first socialist state in world history. It set an example for building a new, socialist system. It shouldered the burden of building socialism in a comparatively backward country, under conditions of hostile capitalist encirclement. At the same time, there were also serious negative phenomena to be found in socialist construction in the 1930s. An administrative-command system of party and state leadership was established, bureaucracy increased, and the democratisation of Soviet society failed to be properly developed. This made the Stalin personality cult possible and led to violations of the law, abuse of power, and persecutions and repressions in relation to many thousands of party members and non-party people. All of this did damage to the cause of socialism and the prestige of the Party; it hindered the affirmation of the Leninist ideal of socialism. A great deal of the blame for this falls on Stalin and his closest entourage.

## Chapter 3

# THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE

### 1. Germany

*The November Revolution.* In the First World War, Germany suffered a crushing defeat. By the end of the war all the inner contradictions in the country had become acute. The majority of the population was tired of the war and hoping for its immediate end. The intensifying revolutionary events in Russia were having a great effect on the broad masses. In 1917, major strikes occurred in a number of places in Germany and agitation spread through its troops. With the coming of the year 1918, the German working people began formidable political strikes, calling for the overthrow of the monarchist regime and the conclusion of peace.

By the beginning of October 1918, the military defeat of Germany became obvious. The revolutionary situation in the country was ripening. On November 3, sailors in the port city of Kiel staged an uprising, refusing to continue the war. Joining the sailors simultaneously, the workers of the town announced a general strike. A Soviet (Council) of Workers' and Sailors' Deputies was created in Kiel and power was passed into its hands. Following this, revolutionary actions spread through all the major cities of the country. On November 9, a general strike began in Berlin. The strike grew into an uprising, as a result of which the monarchy was overthrown and the German Kaiser, Wilhelm II, fled the country. Thus began the November, bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany.

It was accomplished mainly by the forces of the working class. Governmental power ended up in the hands of the Soviet (Council) of People's Representatives, formed by the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.

At that time there were three trends in the social-democratic movement of Germany: the right-wing Social-Democrats and reformists; the left-wing Social-Democrats (the Spartacus group and others); and the centrists, who in word came forward as leftists but in deed followed a programme which was close to that of the reformists. In April 1917, the centrists created the separate Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany (ISDPG). The leadership in the majority of Soviets (Councils) in Germany fell to the right-wing Social-Democrats and the centrists. This limited the scope of the November revolution.

Nevertheless, the Soviets (Councils) established control over management and production at enterprises. Martial law was lifted, freedom of speech, of assembly and the right to form coalitions was introduced, women's rights were granted, the eight-hour working day was established, new labour protection laws were adopted, etc. At the same time, the November revolution did not liquidate the large private holdings of landowners and capitalists, and left in place the old state apparatus. Moreover, those who had newly come to power entered into secret alliances with the military with the aim of limiting the further growth of the revolutionary movement. They carried out a mass propaganda campaign against the Spartacists and other leftists.

The November revolution hastened the end of the First World War. On November 11, 1918, German representatives in Compiègne signed an armistice with the Entente countries on conditions of full surrender. At the same time, the victors agreed to preserve the German Army both for the fight against revolutionary forces within Germany itself and for participation in the intervention in Soviet Russia. The new German government refused to establish diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and took up a hostile position towards it.

The German bourgeoisie and landowners had no intention of fully relinquishing power to the right-wing Social-Democrats. At the end of 1918 there was a reorganisation of the country's bourgeois parties, which demanded the elimination of the Soviets (Councils). In December 1918, counter-revolutionary revolts broke out in a number of places and reactionary "voluntary

corps" sprang up. A reorganisation of the military forces—the Reichswehr—also began. Under these circumstances, at the Congress of Councils the right-wing Social-Democrats pushed through a resolution to hold elections in the National Assembly, giving it the supreme power in the country. This was a defeatist position.

The revolutionary events in Germany demonstrated that the working class and the rest of the toiling masses cannot achieve a victory in the struggle for power without a strong communist party. In connection with this, on December 30, 1918-January 1, 1919, the Spartacists and other left-wing groups held the founding congress of the Communist Party of Germany. The Congress adopted a party programme, which set the task of carrying out a socialist revolution in the country. The formation of the Communist Party of Germany (CPG) was of enormous significance to both the German and the international working-class movement. Its recognised leaders were Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. But in January 1919, counter-revolutionary officers seized and brutally murdered these leaders of the German proletariat.

In an atmosphere of raging reactionism, elections to the National Assembly were held on November 19, 1919. The bourgeois parties received a majority. However, the chairman of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (SDPG), Friedrich Ebert, was elected President of the Republic and another Social-Democratic leader, Philipp Scheidemann, became head of the government.

The November Revolution ended without having touched the foundations of the economic and political rule of imperialism. Nevertheless, it was of great international significance, dealing a blow to the position of capital.

*Class struggles in Germany from 1919 to 1923.* An increase in economic difficulties, speculation, the growth of unemployment, and the working people's dissatisfaction with the results of the November Revolution provided the stimulus for continuing sharp class struggles in Germany over quite a number of years. In the spring of 1919, there were large-scale strikes throughout the country and armed clashes occurred. In the course of these, the German proletariat tried to make the revolution reach deeper, to cross over to its socialist stage. On

January 10, 1919, the working people of Bremen proclaimed it a Soviet Republic, which existed until February 4. At the end of February, Soviet power was established for a short time in Braunschweig. From April 13 through May 1 there was a Soviet Republic in Bavaria. Its government was made up of Communists and Independents, with the Communist Eugen Leviné at its head. The Bavarian Soviet government carried out a number of important revolutionary measures: it introduced workers' control at enterprises, began the nationalisation of industry and banks, disarmed the bourgeoisie and formed a Red Army. However, the German counter-revolution crushed Soviet power in Bavaria through armed force. The leader of the Bavarian Communists, Eugen Leviné, was executed.

The defeat of the Bavarian Soviet Republic was followed by a decline in the revolutionary movement. The bourgeoisie were able to reinforce their positions and power in the country. This was furthered by the signing of a peace treaty between the countries of the Entente and Germany in Versailles in June 1919. On July 31, 1919, the German Constituent National Assembly approved the Weimar Constitution, which legislatively strengthened the bourgeois order. In accordance with this constitution, Germany became a bourgeois parliamentary republic.

The most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie strove to eliminate even those small democratic gains that were reflected in the constitution. Headed by Adolf Hitler, the Nazi Party sprang up in 1919 and with the support of financial magnates began persistently working its way towards power. In March 1920, monarchist and militarist forces headed by a major landowner, Wolfgang Kapp, attempted to carry out a counter-revolutionary coup. In response to this, 12 million factory and office workers staged a general strike which paralysed the entire country for several days. In a number of places, armed struggle broke out between workers and reactionaries. As a result, the conspiracy was foiled. The government, however, headed by the right-wing Social-Democrats, unleashed a "white terror" against the revolutionary workers.

In the spring of 1921, the class struggle in Germany intensified once again. The workers of Middle Germany

came out against the introduction of police units at enterprises and in support of establishing workers' control over production. Soon all of Middle Germany was gripped by strikes, which developed into armed confrontations with police and troops. But this time, as well, the workers suffered defeat.

As of 1921, Germany began paying reparations to the victor countries. This immediately took its toll on the country's financial situation. At the end of 1922, Germany called for a moratorium to be granted on all payments. Germany's refusal to pay an installment on reparations led to the occupation of the Ruhr region and the Rhineland by France and Belgium (January 11, 1923). This gave rise to a most acute economic and political crisis in Germany. The German government, headed by Wilhelm Cuno, announced the tactics of "passive resistance", which led to placing the entire burden of the occupation onto the shoulders of the working class. Under these conditions, the German proletariat came out both against the foreign occupation and against the anti-popular policy of the government. In August 1923, as a result of a three-day general strike, the Cuno government was removed.

Another revolutionary situation took shape in Germany in the autumn of 1923. At the beginning of October 1923, based on coalition of left-wing Social-Democrats and Communists, workers' governments were formed in Saxony and Thuringia. However, indecision on the part of the coalition allowed governmental troops to re-establish bourgeois power there. The high point of the 1923 revolutionary crisis in Germany was the armed uprising of workers in Hamburg, which was organised by Communists headed by Ernst Thälmann. The uprising began on October 22 and continued for three days. Workers' detachments seized police stations and engaged in armed battles with military troops. But the uprising of the Hamburg workers proved to be an isolated incident and this time, too, the revolutionary forces suffered defeat. The period of acute class struggle—the "revolutionary storm"—in Germany came to an end.

*Temporary stabilisation of capitalism in Germany.* A purely bourgeois government was formed in Germany at the beginning of December 1923. It took measures

to stabilise the economic and political situation in the country. International imperialism was also concerned with the stabilisation of capitalism in Germany. At a conference of Western powers held in London in July 1924, the Dawes Plan was approved.

Between 1924 and 1929, the USA as well as several other imperialist powers fed Germany approximately 21 billion marks in the form of credits, loans and investments. Using these funds, German monopolists reconstructed the economy, especially the war industry. Concentration and centralisation of capital and production moved at a fast pace and such monopoly giants as IG Farbenindustrie (a chemical concern), Stahltrust and others appeared.

Along with economic stabilisation came the political stabilisation of bourgeois rule. The German administration was made up of representatives of the monopoly bourgeoisie and major landowners. On April 26, 1925, a representative of the right-wing bourgeois parties, Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg, was elected President of the German Republic, which strengthened the positions of reactionary and militarist forces. Remilitarisation of the country, the rearmament of the German army and the building of a navy began to be carried out at a fast pace. Revanchist and racist propaganda became enormously widespread.

In the years of the stabilisation of capitalism, somewhat of an improvement was made in the material position of certain categories of workers. However, the class struggle continued. Workers fought for the reinstatement of the eight-hour working day, for the improvement of working conditions and against reaction and militarism. But the overall decline in the scope of class actions made it possible for right-wing circles to legislatively establish a ten-hour working day in 1927.

Within the communist movement, a process of ideological and organisational strengthening of the party was taking place. Right- and left-wing opportunists were removed from CPG leadership. As of October 1925, the party began to be directed by a group headed by Ernst Thälmann. In 1925, the Communist Party organised a mass campaign against the authorities' intentions to pay former princes compensation for property confiscated

from them during the November Revolution. In December 1926, on the initiative of the Communists, a congress of working people was held in the interests of joint struggle for their basic needs. In August and September 1927, with the participation of Communists, mass actions were conducted for the defence of Sacco and Vanzetti, two workers unlawfully convicted in the USA. Communists actively took part in the strike and trade-union movement and carried out anti-military propaganda among the masses. Growth of workers' mass actions and the increasing prestige of the CPG caused alarm among the ruling circles of Germany, who intensified repressions against the working-class movement and encouraged the activities of fascist organisations.

*Germany in the years of world economic crisis.* The world economic crisis of 1929-1933 hit the German economy particularly hard. In 1932 the level of industrial production in the country fell by 40 per cent compared with 1929 and there were eight million fully or partially unemployed. A number of major banks collapsed. Hundreds of thousands of peasant households were ruined and thousands of artisans and traders suffered the same lot.

In the years of the crisis radical changes occurred in the alignment of the political forces in the country. The working masses were disappointed with the policy pursued by the ruling parties, bourgeois and social-democratic alike. Some of them rendered support to the Communist Party; but considerable strata of the population, especially the petty bourgeoisie, were under the influence of fascist demagogic. During the election to the Reichstag in September 1930, candidates from the National-Socialist (fascist) Party received 6,500,000 votes, compared with 810,000 in 1928. The election results testified to the rapidly gathering danger of the fascists coming to power.

Seeing the gathering fascist threat, the Communist Party concentrated its main efforts on creating a united anti-fascist front. In August 1930, it published The Programme of Social and National Emancipation of the German People and in May 1931, it adopted The Programme of Aid to the Peasants. Both documents were imbued with the concern of the Communist Party

about the fate of the country and its people. However, they were largely orientated towards socialist measures, whereas emphasis should have been laid on democratic measures, around which broad anti-fascist forces could have rallied under the circumstances.

But the greatest damage to the unity of the working class and the other democratic forces was done by the splitting policy of the right-wing leaders of the Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions. Renouncing unity of action with the Communists, they advanced the opportunist theory of "the lesser evil", in accordance with which they called on the masses to oppose both the fascists and Communists. In reality, such a position on the part of the Social-Democrats made it easier for the influence of the fascist party to take hold. At elections to the Reichstag in November 1932, the fascists secured for themselves 11.7 million votes.

*Establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany.* Soon after the elections, the reactionary circles decided to force the establishment of a fascist dictatorship. In January 30, 1933, President Hermann Hindenburg named Hitler Reichskanzler (head of state). This meant the establishment in Germany of a fascist, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary circles of finance capital. The Communist Party appealed to all workers to stage a general anti-fascist strike. However, this time, too, the reformists refused to act jointly with the Communists. This allowed the fascists to remain in power and to take immediate measures to fortify their dictatorship. For this purpose they resorted to provocations and mass terror against their political opponents. On February 27, 1933, the fascists arranged for the Reichstag to be set on fire, falsely blaming the Communists for this act. Simultaneously ten thousand people were arrested, among them the Bulgarian Communist Georgi Dimitrov. A dirty trial was held for him and some German Communists in Leipzig in September 1933, which failed disgracefully, however, thanks to the courage, persistence and brilliant skill of Georgi Dimitrov. The court was compelled to acquit Georgi Dimitrov.

Soon the fascists officially banned the Communist Party, the Social-Democratic Party, the trade unions, and other workers' and democratic organisations. Tens

of thousands of anti-fascists were jailed, including the leader of the Communist Party of Germany, Ernst Thälmann. The bourgeois parties dissolved themselves. During the night of June 29, Hitler made short work of the opposition within the Nazi movement as well. On August 1, 1934, Hitler was announced the "life-long Reichskanzler and Führer".

In the period of the fascist dictatorship, the country's entire economy was put on a wartime footing. Arms production was expanded. The consolidation and extension of state monopoly capitalism moved at a fast pace. The leaders of the Nazi Party took hold of major enterprises and banks. The whole of political life in the country was reorganised to suit the fascists. The workers were compulsorily united into the Deutsche Arbeitsfront (The German Labour Front). A law On Inherited Farms was passed which consolidated the kulak stratum in the countryside. Universal military service and labour conscription were introduced for young people. An apparatus of terror and violence was organised: the Gestapo (the secret police), the storm detachments (SA), the guards detachments (SS), the security service (SD). The whole country was turned into a military camp.

Having come to power, the fascists stepped up their chauvinist and racist propaganda. They ranked Germans among a higher Aryan race and all other nations were seen as inferior. According to their theory, the highest race was called upon to rule over all of humanity and to create in the world a "new order". Thus was substantiated the expansionist and piratical policy of German fascism. An assault on the achievements of human culture ran through the country and unbridled anti-Semitism was preached.

Preparing for war against the USSR, the German fascists also unleashed anti-Russian and anti-Slavic propaganda. Hitler's book, *Mein Kampf*, defined the basic directions by which fascism would establish world rule. From the middle of the 1930s, Hitler's government set about realising its aggressive programme. In 1935, Germany annexed the Saarland and in 1936 reoccupied the Rhineland demilitarised zone. German fascism took part in the intervention against the Spanish Republic (1936-1939), seized Austria in 1938 and Czechoslovak

lands in 1939. In 1936-1937 the anti-Comintern pact took shape, consisting of Germany, Japan and Italy. German fascism became a serious threat to all of mankind.

In face of the most brutal terror established by the Nazis, it was exceptionally difficult to carry out any struggle against them. The strike movement and trade-union activities virtually came to a halt. The Social-Democrats curtailed their activity almost completely. Drained of its lifeblood, the Communist Party was also unable to organise mass actions. Nevertheless, at its party conference in 1935 the CPG worked out new tactics for the anti-fascist struggle. In January 1939, it put forward a programme of struggle for the creation of a democratic German republic. However, the German people did not succeed in destroying the fascist dictatorship on their own power. The liberation of the German people came only as a result of the victory of the anti-fascist states in the Second World War.

## 2. France

*Rise of the revolutionary movement.* France came out of the First World War as a victor. But it experienced all the rigors of war. Great human and material losses and considerable destruction, especially in the country's north, took a hard toll on its economic position. Moreover, France ended up strongly dependent on American and British capital.

At the same time, the return of Alsace and Lorraine, exploitation of the Saar (until 1935), and reparations from Germany made it possible for France to recover rather quickly from the consequences of the war and to change from an agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian one. The processes of concentration and centralisation of production and capital led to the appearance of giant trusts and concerns. Dominating the production of automobiles were such firms as Citroën, Peugeot and Renault. Capitalist development in the countryside accelerated. But in both town and country there still remained a large number of small-scale producers.

From November 1917, power in the country lay in the

hands of the reactionary government of Georges Benjamin Clemenceau. It followed a tough anti-labour policy within the country, and on the international scene came forward as an initiator of anti-Soviet intervention. Beginning in March 1918, French troops directly participated in the intervention in Soviet Russia and later in Soviet Hungary. At the Paris Peace Conference (1919), French diplomats took an extremely hostile position against Soviet Russia and also sought to establish French hegemony in Europe.

In order to strengthen their position in the political life of France, the reactionary parties (National-Republican Action, Republican-Democrats, Royalists) formed a National Bloc. Also joining the bloc were the Party of Radicals and the Radical Socialists. In November 1919, the National Bloc sustained a victory at elections to the Chamber of Deputies, and in January 1920, to the Senate. But the right-wing circles did not succeed in preventing revolutionary actions in the country.

Under the influence of the October Revolution, a powerful rise in the revolutionary and working-class movement occurred in France on 1918-1920. Progressive sectors of the French population called for the conclusion of peace without annexations and indemnities, and also took part in the protest movement against imperialist intervention in Soviet Russia.

In support of Soviet Russia, French workers conducted a series of strikes, political demonstrations and meetings. Protests against the anti-Soviet intervention also began within the French Army and Navy. In April 1919, the soldiers and sailors of French interventionist troops mutinied in Sevastopol and Odessa, demanding an immediate return to their homeland. In the summer of 1919, sailors on the battleship *Provence* refused to supply the interventionists with reinforcement. Members of the progressive intelligentsia actively participated in the struggle against the anti-Soviet intervention, in particular the writers Anatole France, Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland. The government of France was forced to recall its troops from Russia.

The strike movement spread. Not limiting themselves to traditional economic demands, workers advanced slogans calling for the nationalisation of industry, banks, railways, etc. The ruling circles were compelled to satisfy

a number of the working people's demands, including the adoption in April 1919, of the law on the eight-hour working day.

The economic and political struggle of the French working people reached its greatest scale in 1920. The largest strikes of that period were the railwaymen's strikes in February and May of 1920, which were supported by workers from other sectors as well. Trains came to a halt on nearly all of the country's rails. The workers pressed for compliance with the eight-hour working day, for a raise in pay and an end to the anti-Soviet intervention. With great difficulty, resorting to brutal repression, the authorities put down the strike of the railwaymen.

Class battles and the solidarity movement with Soviet Russia convinced the progressive sectors of the French proletariat of the need to break with reformism and create a revolutionary party. With the rise of class struggle came a rise in the influx of workers into the General Confederation of Labour and the Socialist Party. Within the Socialist Party considerable strength was gained by the left wing, which called for joining the Comintern. Party representative and director of its newspaper *L'Humanité* Marcel Cachin attended the Second Comintern Congress in Moscow and upon returning to France unfurled an energetic campaign in favour of the Party joining the Third International. In his own words, he took up the staff of a pilgrim, travelled around the country and spoke out at meetings in support of the Party's entry into the Comintern. At the Socialist Party Congress, held in Tours in December 1920, a majority vote passed a resolution on the immediate joining of the Third International. The minority, maintaining reformist and centrist positions, left the congress and formed the Reformist Socialist Party. Thus, a division of forces occurred in the socialist movement of France. The creation of a communist party was a great achievement for the French proletariat. At the beginning of 1922, the left wing of the trade-union movement formed the Unitary General Confederation of Labour.

France's foreign policy in the early post-war years was characterised by hegemonic and anti-Soviet aspirations. After the failure of open anti-Soviet intervention,

ruling circles in France resorted to an economic blockade against the Soviet state and refused to establish normal trade and diplomatic relations with it. The magnates of French industry were looking to get their hands on the Ruhr area of Germany. In connection with Germany's inability to pay an installment on reparations, France and Belgium occupied the Ruhr area and part of the Rhineland in January 1923. As a result, the international situation was aggravated, the economic and financial position of France worsened and its international prestige dropped.

*France in the period of capitalist stabilisation.* The National Bloc greatly compromised itself in the eyes of the electorate owing to the failure of the "Ruhr venture". Having withdrawn from this bloc, the Radical Socialists together with the Socialists and a group of Republican Socialists set up a "Left Bloc" in 1924. In May 1924, the Left Bloc sustained a victory in the parliamentary elections. The new government was headed by Edouard Herriot, a Radical Socialist. In the years the Left Bloc was in power a partial amnesty was granted to political prisoners, nightwork was restricted for women and children, civil servants were given the right to set up their own trade unions, and women were granted the right to vote in elections to municipal and canton bodies. Herriot's government withdrew French troops from the Ruhr and accepted the Dawes Plan. In the colonial world, French imperialists followed a policy of suppressing the national-liberation movement. In 1925, France took part in a war against the Republic of Rif in Morocco. At that same time, French troops crushed an uprising of the Druses in Syria.

In July 1926, a government formed on right-wing parties and headed by Raymond Poincaré came to power in place of the Left Bloc. It posed as a government of "national unity". Under this government indirect taxes and transport tariffs were raised, pensions and the wages of civil servants were cut, and the taxes paid by big business were lowered. As a result of these measures the franc was stabilised. All of this was achieved, however, mainly at the expense of the working people.

In the course of the class struggle, the prestige of the Communist Party grew. It became stronger in terms of

ideology and organisation. A Marxist-Leninist core of leadership took shape in the Party and in July 1930, Maurice Thorez was voted in as General Secretary of the French Communist Party. Striving to check the growth of the working-class movement, the authorities brought repressions down on the Communists. In 1929, 4,000 Communists were arrested on charges of plotting against the state.

Poincaré's government stepped up the militarisation of the country. The years of stabilisation in France saw considerable growth in such branches of heavy industry as the metallurgical, machine-building, aircraft, and chemical industries, as well as arms production. Streamlining, concentration and centralisation of production took place, and a growth in the export of capital occurred.

*France in the years of world economic crisis.* In the years of crisis, which came to France in 1930-1936, several banks collapsed, major plants and factories closed down, peasant households suffered ruin, and foreign trade dropped. The crisis severely worsened the material position of the working people within France and in its colonies. Instability in the country's political life also increased.

During this period a fascist threat began to grow rapidly in France. In 1932, a fascist party called French Solidarity arose, stating as its purpose "the battle against socialism and communism". In the following year a union of French fascists by the name of Les Francists was formed. The Fiery Crosses, Action Française and other fascist organisations stepped up their activities. In 1932, fascist elements organised the murder of France's President Paul Doumer.

However, elections held in 1932 were won by the Left Bloc. Even so, political stability was not to be had. Inspired by the coming to power of fascists in Germany, French fascist organisations increased their fight against the parliamentary order, seeking to establish their dictatorship. On February 6, 1934 in Paris, over 20,000 armed fascists headed for the parliament with the aim of driving it out. The authorities were unable to take decisive measures against this sortie. Responding to an appeal from the Communists, 25,000 Paris workers took to the streets and gave resistance to the fascists. On February 9, a 500,000 strong anti-fascist demonstration was held

in Paris and on February 12 a general political strike was staged, in which 4.5 million people in all corners of France took part. Both these events were marked by the united action of working people of various trade-union and party affiliations. And on June 27, 1934, the Communist Party and Socialist Party signed a pact on unity of action in the struggle against the danger of fascism. Thus in France a new form of struggle was born—the working-class and popular front.

The stepping up of fascism both on the international scene and within the country impelled the democratic forces of France to move towards a rapprochement with the Soviet Union. France's Minister of Foreign Affairs Louis Barthou began taking steps to ensure the country's security. But in 1934 he was killed by fascist henchmen. The new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pierre Laval, signed an agreement on mutual assistance with the Soviet Union in May 1935. This laid the foundations for collective security in Europe.

*The Popular Front in France.* Heightening of tension in the international situation due to the growing threat of fascism and war added fuel to anti-fascist sentiments among the French masses. Support for the creation of broad popular front increased. The Radical Party adopted a resolution to join such a front. In 1935, the Popular Front united 48 democratic organisations. In 1936, with the active participation of the Communist Party, the Popular Front worked out a joint programme which provided for the nationalisation of major banks, expansion of freedom of the press, political amnesty, disarmament, disbandment of fascist organisations, and improvement of the French workers' and oppressed peoples' situation. The foreign policy section of the programme proposed measures towards strengthening the country's security, including the strengthening of French-Soviet relations and the system of collective security.

Seeking to increase working-class and popular unity, the Communist Party spoke out in favour of creating unified trade unions. In March 1936, the General Confederation of Labour and the Unitary General Confederation of Labour held a joint congress, at which a single General Confederation of Labour was created. Two Communists were elected to its leadership.

A remarkable achievement of the Popular Front movement was its success at the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in April and May 1936. The Front's candidates received 56.6 per cent of the total number of votes. On July 7, 1936, the Socialists and Radicals formed the first Popular Front government, headed by the right-wing Socialist Léon Blum. The Communist Party stated that it would support the government if the latter were to implement the Popular Front programme.

Soon after the Popular Front's victory at the elections in France major democratic and social measures were put into effect. The workers got pay rises of 15 per cent on average, and the wages of minor office workers were also raised. Parliament approved laws on paid holidays (14 days per year), on the introduction of a 40-hour working week, and on the conclusion of collective agreements. The armaments industry was partially nationalised and the reform of the Bank of France was effected, funds were allotted for public work, and fascist organisations were banned. The situation of the peasants and artisans improved. All these measures were in the interests of the broad masses and were aimed at combating the danger of fascism.

However, bourgeois reaction sabotaged these measures of the Popular Front government in every possible way, created economic and financial difficulties and continued to give its support to fascist organisations. Under these conditions, Léon Blum's government took up a defeatist position. In September 1936, it devalued the franc, which caused the position of the working masses to deteriorate. It also refused to implement the tax system reform proposed by the Communists. In international affairs, Blum initiated a policy of "non-interference", which for all intents and purposes meant encouragement of the fascist aggressors. In March 1937, Blum suggested having a "respite" in implementing the Popular Front programme, and in June 1937, he resigned. For the next nine months, until March 10, 1938, the government was headed by the Radical Camille Chautemps, who spoke in favour of undoing several of the gains made by the Popular Front. During this period, fascist organisations attempted to carry out an anti-popular conspiracy. It was, however, exposed and stopped.

Owing to the beginning of another economic crisis in 1937, the offensive of the bourgeoisie against the working masses was stepped up.

The French Communist Party called upon the working class and other democratic forces to strengthen and extend the Popular Front. The suggestions made by the Communists included the following: turning the Popular Front into an even wider French Front, creating a single party of the working class by uniting the Communists and Socialists, creating a genuinely democratic government, and furthering socio-economic transformations. The adoption of these and other suggestions made by the Communist Party would have allowed the anti-fascist and anti-war front in France to be strengthened. However, the Socialists and Radicals did not agree with the Communist Party's proposals. On April 10, 1938, a new government was formed. It was headed by the Radical Edouard Daladier, who spoke out against the Popular Front programme. On October 10, the Radical Party announced that it was withdrawing from the Popular Front. On November 15, 1938 the Daladier government increased taxes and abolished the 40-hour working week. Entrepreneurs began to make wage cuts and speak out against collective agreements.

The working class and its Communist vanguard, and many rank-and-file Socialists demanded that the Popular Front should be preserved and waged a struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie. On November 26, 1938, on the initiative of the General Confederation of Labour a National Day of Protest was held in France against the assault of reaction. On November 30, the Confederation staged a 24-hour general strike in which four million workers took part. The government responded to this by introducing a state of emergency. Mass-scale dismissals of factory and office workers began.

Capitulatory features in the face of international reaction and fascism were increasingly evident in France's foreign policy in this period. The government of France connived at Germany's aggression and its seizure of Austria and Czechoslovakia. Daladier's participation in the signing of the Munich Agreement meant the severance of agreements with Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. On December 6, 1938, France and Germany signed a

declaration which was in essence a non-aggression pact giving the German fascists an opportunity to concentrate on preparing an assault against the USSR. In February 1939, the French signed an agreement with Francisco Franco, in accordance with which France transferred to the Spanish fascist dictatorship the Spanish Republic's Navy, the arms and ammunition of interned soldiers of the Republican Army, and also the gold reserves of the Spanish Republic's government which were being kept in the Bank of France's safes.

Such was the perfidy of France's ruling circles in relation to the anti-fascist struggle both within the country and on the international scene. In spite of this, the Popular Front movement in France impeded the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in France and laid the foundations for the anti-fascist Resistance movement in the years of the Second World War.

### 3. Great Britain

*Intensification of the class struggle.* Like France, Great Britain came out of the war as a victor. Its main opponent—Germany—was crushed. The colonial rule of Britain was considerably extended. The economy of the country had not suffered too terribly from the war. British diplomacy played a highly important role in the post-war political settlement. It seemed that the might of the British empire was unshakeable.

However, in all reality, the decline of the British empire had begun. Victory in the war had been achieved through extraordinary effort. The country's national debt grew to an enormous degree. Britain went from being an international creditor to debtor. The country's volume of industrial production dropped and the competitive capacity of British goods on the world market fell.

The economic difficulties led to increased tension in the political life of the country. During the war, a coalition government (Conservatives, Liberals, Labourites) was headed by an experienced politician, leader of the Liberal Party Lloyd George. At the end of 1917, he proposed the idea of carrying out an "economic and political reconstruction". At the beginning of 1918, a reform of voters' rights was carried out in Britain, which

granted the right to vote at age 21 for men and at age 30 for women. Compulsory education for children up to the age of 14 was introduced, veterans' benefits were established, and demobilisation of the army was begun. Earlier than other Western statesmen, Lloyd George realised the pointlessness of armed methods of struggle against the Soviet state. On March 16, 1921, he signed the Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement.

The policy of Lloyd George was intended to sow among the masses an illusion of positive changes in the country. However, within the Liberal Party a split occurred. A group of Liberals headed by Herbert Asquith refused to support Lloyd George. The latter then entered into a coalition with the Conservatives. The first postwar elections, held on February 14, 1918, brought an imposing victory for the Conservative-Liberal coalition headed by Lloyd George, which held power about four years.

However, the ruling circles of Britain did not succeed in preventing the growth of the country's working-class and revolutionary movement. The British proletariat, which in the course of the previous decades had limited itself mainly to economic actions, joined in the political struggle. The working people demanded an improvement in their situation and spoke out for the nationalisation of the main sectors of production and for the implementation of democratic reforms. In 1917-1918, mass rallies and demonstrations calling for an end to the war were held in Britain. A number of trade unions, as well as the shop stewards organisation advanced slogans of peace. And the working people of Glasgow came out with an appeal to fight for "the overthrow of the capitalist system and the founding of a socialist republic". Revolutionary actions also occurred among the sailors of the British Navy. Left-socialist groups and organisations grew in size and strength. In the summer of 1918, the Labour Party proposed its programme of Labour and the New Social Order, based on the ideas of Fabian socialism.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was propagated by the Fabian Society, an organisation of the British bourgeois intelligentsia formed in 1884. Named after the Roman military leader Fabius Maximus, its main idea was the gradual transformation of capitalist society into a socialist one by means of reforms. It became a part of the Labour Party when the latter was formed in 1900.

The strike movement reached an enormous scale. Participating in it were railwaymen, miners, metal-workers, textile-workers, and other groups of working people. On January 27, 1919, the largest general strike of those times began in the industrial region of the Clyde River. On February 12, the government suppressed the strike with the aid of troops. Active participation in the economic and political struggle came from the miners, who strove for a 30 per cent rise in pay, the introduction of a seven-hour working day, nationalisation of the mines and the establishment of workers' control over them. In 1919, a special Royal Commission gave its recommendations on a 20 per cent pay rise for miners and introduction of the seven-hour working day. This prevented a general miners' strike in that period. In September and October 1919, a successful general strike was conducted by one million British railwaymen. Along with the working-class movement in the UK proper, a national-liberation struggle spread within its colonies (India, Egypt, Ireland and others). In 1919, Britain was forced to recognise Afghanistan's independence.

The struggle for peace and against foreign intervention in Soviet Russia held a large place in the working-class movement of Britain. In 1918, British troops were sent to Archangel, Murmansk, Baku and Turkmenia. In response to this, a mass movement of solidarity with Soviet Russia spread wide in Great Britain. Working people throughout the country created a ramified network of Hands Off Russia committees. In September 1919, a national Hands Off Russia committee was formed, uniting within its framework 400 local committees. At the beginning of 1919, unrest gripped the British troops located in the Murmansk area. On a number of British ships, sailors refused to take part in the anti-Soviet intervention. As a result, the British government withdrew its troops from Russia in the spring of 1919. This was a great achievement of international proletarian solidarity. During the Polish-Soviet war of 1920, the working people of Britain once again came out in support of the Soviet state. On August 13, 1920, the Labour Party and trade unions held a national workers' conference, whose participants adopted a resolution not to allow any new anti-Soviet intervention and to organise a general strike should

the need arise. The determined protest of the British working people forced the government to turn down any plans of intervention.

The mass working-class, democratic and anti-war movement served as a basis for the spreading in Great Britain of communist ideas. At a congress of a number of communist groups, held on July 31-August 1, 1920, the Communist Party of Great Britain was formed. The participants of the congress adopted a resolution on the Party's joining of the Comintern. The creation of the Communist Party was a major achievement for the British working class. However, the Party was small in number (ten to twelve thousand members). The Communist Party spoke in favour of entry into the Labour Party with the rights of a collective membership. But the leaders of the Labour Party refused to admit the Communist Party into their organisation.

At the end of 1920, a profound economic crisis began in Britain, continuing until 1922. Under the crisis conditions, the bourgeoisie launched an attack on the social and economic gains of workers. During this period, the conflict between miners and mine-owners flared up once again. On April 1, 1921, mine-owners announced a lockout which affected more than one million miners. With the beginning of the lockout, the government declared a state of emergency in the country and sent troops to the coal regions. On Friday, April 15, 1921, transport workers and railwaymen planned to strike in solidarity with the miners. However, trade-union leaders foiled the strike. April 15, 1921, came to be known in the history of the British working-class movement as "Black Friday". At the end of July 1921, miners returned to work on the conditions of mine-owners, who lowered workers' pay by 34 per cent. By the end of 1921, the pay of six million people had dropped.

Following the crisis of 1920-1922, the economy of Great Britain entered a period of extended stagnation. The policy of the coalition government, which had played the role of a "social buffer" during the rise of the class struggle, now no longer pleased the ruling circles. In October 1922, Lloyd George resigned and the Parliament was dissolved. A date later in October was set for new elections, which resulted in a victory for the Conservatives.

Andrew Bonar Law became Prime Minister and in May 1923, he was replaced by Stanley Baldwin. The Conservative government saw the revival of the country's economy as its main task. In foreign policy, the Conservatives followed a course of maintaining the world supremacy of Great Britain. But the Conservatives were unable to accomplish these tasks.

*Great Britain in the years of partial stabilisation. The general strike of 1926.* In the period of capitalist stabilisation, Britain's economy merely marked time. By 1929, the volume of industrial production barely equalled the level of 1913. Coal-mining, metallurgy, ship-building, and the textile industry all suffered stagnation. Only in new branches of industry (the machine-building, chemical, aircraft construction, automobile and other industries) was a slight advance observed. The economic difficulties of Great Britain stemmed from the extreme technological lagging behind of its industry and, as a consequence of this, the country's small competitive capacity on the world market.

The ruling circles tried to pull the country out of stagnation with the help of a financial reform, concentration of capital and production, and the streamlining of industry. In April 1925, the gold parity of the pound sterling was restored. Direct and indirect taxes were raised. Exploitation of the working class and of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries increased. But none of this offered any substantial results.

The inability of the old bourgeois parties to get the country out of its difficult economic situation undermined their position among voters. This was clearly seen in the parliamentary elections of 1923, in which the Conservatives lost their absolute majority. At the same time, the Labour Party significantly increased its representation, though it too failed to claim a majority. Since the Conservatives and Liberals could not agree on creating a government, its formation was handed over to the Labour Party. On January 23, 1924, Labour Party leader Ramsay MacDonald put together a new government, which lasted for only a few months.

The Labour government promoted the development of private enterprise, granted privileges to industrial enterprises, and lowered taxes on the profits of mono-

polies. It increased old-age pensions and those of invalids, and also passed a law on the construction of housing for workers. But on the whole, the Labour government conducted a pro-monopoly policy. Lacking support in the parliament, the Labour Party arranged new parliamentary elections in December 1924. The new elections brought a victory to the Conservatives, who remained in power until mid-1929. The Conservative government took up a tougher policy against the working class and an intensified anti-Soviet course in international affairs.

The British working class came out against the policy of the Conservatives, which was aimed at the stabilisation of capitalism at the expense of the working people. The country's strike movement intensified and a movement among the unemployed began to spread. In the trade unions a National Minority Movement took shape, which in 1926 involved over a million people. Prominent leaders of the movement were Tom Mann and Harry Pollitt. Along with economic demands, the trade-union movement stepped up its activity in support of peace and solidarity with the Soviet state. In 1925 came the creation of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee, which promoted the development of contacts between British and Soviet trade unions.

Soon after the Conservatives came to power, company owners decided to strike a blow at the most militant group of workers—the miners. In the summer of 1925, mine-owners announced their intention to lower miners' pay by 4 to 13 per cent and simultaneously increase the working day from seven to eight hours. In response to this, miners, railwaymen, transport workers and machine-builders declared their readiness to walk out jointly on a general strike. On Friday, July 31, 1925, the government delivered a statement on the granting of subsidies of 20 million pounds sterling to the coal companies to halt their plans to lower the pay of miners. Conflict was temporarily averted. British workers named July 31, 1925 "Red Friday".

But the conflict between workers and owners had merely been postponed. With the help of the government, the bourgeoisie began to prepare for an open clash with the proletariat. For a period of nine months, stores of food and coal were saved up. In September 1925, police

and fascist gangs carried out raids on Communist Party premises. Twelve party leaders were arrested and charged with incitement to riot. The General Council of the Trades Union Congress was hoping to find a compromise solution and had not prepared for a general strike.

On May 1, 1926, a lock-out declared by mine-owners began. Miners responded with a strike. The strike was soon joined by workers of other branches of industry, and as of May 4, 1926, it became a general strike. In a short time, the number of its participants reached nearly 5 million. This was the largest mass action of the British proletariat in all of its history. During the course of the strike, Councils of Action made up of representatives from political, trade-union, cooperative and other workers' organisations began springing up in major population centres. In a number of places, the Councils of Action became, in essence, the embryos of a new, proletarian power. Frightened by the scope of the strike, the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and leaders of the Labour Party hastened to take measures towards bringing it to a quick end. Having assured the workers that the government gave its word to assist in satisfying the miners' demands, they brought about disorganisation in the ranks of the strikers. On May 12, the majority of workers ended their strike. On the following day, the government announced that it had made no promises to the General Council. Miners continued the strike for another eight months. But then, having exhausted all their resources, they were forced to give it up. Their pay was lowered and the working day was extended to eight hours.

The international working class stood in solidarity with the British miners. A great deal of assistance was provided by the working people of the Soviet Union, who collected and sent the strikers 11.5 million rubles in gold. The general strike left an indelible mark on the British working-class movement. Despite the fact that the strike emerged in support of workers' economic interests, it was clearly of a general class and political nature. At the same time, however, it became obvious in the course of the strike that the country's ruling circles were more experienced and organised in class struggle than the workers.

The bourgeoisie used the defeat of the British workers to attack the political and trade-union organisations of

the proletariat. The work of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee was halted. In 1927, the government passed a law on Trade Disputes and Trade Unions, in accordance with which any strikes, general or organised for purposes of solidarity or with the aim of putting pressure on the government, were declared illegal. Many trade-union gains were destroyed. At the beginning of 1928, representatives of the General Council of the British Trades Unions agreed with the prominent industrialist Robert Mond and other company owners on a policy of "the class cooperation" of labour and capital, aimed at increasing "the competitive strength of British industry on the world market" at the expense of the working class. This policy went down in history as "Mondism".

The assault of reaction was also expressed in the intensification of the anti-Soviet campaign. Within the country, persecution of Communists increased. They were barred from leadership positions in trade unions.

The ruling circles of Britain tried to form an anti-Soviet bloc. British reactionaries organised a series of anti-Soviet demonstrations and then staged a raid on the Anglo-Russian Cooperative Society (ARCOS). On May 27, 1927, the Conservative government severed diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. However, the intention of the British ruling circles to organise a "crusade" against the USSR failed.

*Great Britain in the years of crisis and on the eve of the Second World War.* The first symptoms of world economic crisis appeared in the British economy at the beginning of 1930. Suffering most heavily from the crisis were the so-called traditional sectors of production: the coal industry, metallurgy, etc. Foreign trade dropped off by roughly 50 per cent. Britain's gold reserves were considerably diminished. Mass unemployment arose within the country and the material situation of the working people worsened. Through various measures, the ruling circles tried to rectify the country's economic and financial position. In 1931, the "sterling bloc" was created, into which states with a combined population of more than 600 million people entered. This allowed Britain to use the monetary reserves of many countries to maintain its financial position. With these same aims in mind, British ruling circles rejected

the principle of free trade and went over to a policy of protectionism.

This programme was implemented by the second Labour government, which came to power as a result of parliamentary elections on May 30, 1929. The government headed by Ramsay MacDonald granted industrial companies subsidies and preferential credits. Certain concessions were made to the working people as well. The working day of miners was shortened to seven and a half hours. The situation of the unemployed was somewhat improved in connection with the adoption of a new law on social insurance (1930).

The deepening of the crisis prompted the government to create a Royal Commission directed by financier George May. The commission published a report in July 1931, with recommendations for a recovery in the British economy at the expense of a general cut in benefits for the unemployed and in the allotments for social needs. The George May Report caused a split in the Labour Party. MacDonald resigned, but on August 24, 1931, he formed what was called the "national" government, whose main posts were held by representatives of the Conservative Party. Excluded from the ranks of the Labour Party, MacDonald and his supporters created the National Labour Group.

At parliamentary elections in October 1931, the national coalition (MacDonald's group and the Conservatives) managed to ensure itself a majority. MacDonald's "national" government (1931-1935) immediately launched an austerity programme. Foreign monopolies approved of the government's course and granted loans to Britain.

The "economising" policy aroused serious discontent among the working class. Already in the autumn of 1930, the country saw the spreading of a struggle in favour of the Labour Charter, which contained demands for a seven-hour working day, a national minimum wage and an increase in unemployment benefits. Supporters of the Charter also put forward political demands—the rebuff of war and support for the Soviet Union and the national-liberation movement. In 1931-1932, the scope of the unemployment movement was especially great. The unemployed conducted mass demonstrations and "hunger marches". The Communist Party played a large role in the

class struggle. In 1932, it spoke in favour of a united workers' front. The first step in this direction was an agreement between the Communist Party and the Independent Labour Party on united action in support of the unemployed and against the threat of fascism and war (1933). Workers' unity was imperative both in the struggle for the vital interests of the working people and in order to check the growing threat of fascism and war. In 1932, former Labour Party member Oswald Mosley, with the support of certain financiers and industrialists, founded the British Union of Fascists.

The years of crisis weakened the position of British imperialism in the dominions. In 1931, the British parliament adopted the Statute of Westminster, which legislatively established the legal equality between the mother country and dominions and formally recognised the dominions' independence in domestic and foreign policy. At the same time, the British authorities dealt mercilessly with anti-imperialist actions in their colonies. The policy of the British government in its relations with the USSR was contradictory. The country's reactionary forces did not give up their attempts to create an anti-Soviet front. Even at that time, Britain had already become indulgent towards the revanchist aspirations of Germany and Japan.

The first signs of recovery appeared in the British economy around the end of 1932. On the whole, Britain suffered less from the world economic crisis than other countries. Nevertheless, a number of states outstripped Britain in economic terms. Its competitors included not only the US, but also Germany, Italy and Japan.

In November 1935, the last parliamentary elections to be held before the war were conducted. Although it incurred a large loss of votes, the "national" government remained in power, headed by Stanley Baldwin in 1935-1937 and by Neville Chamberlain in 1937-1940. It followed a tough anti-labour policy within the country. In 1935, one of the most reactionary laws was adopted—the Sedition Bill, which could be used against the left-wing forces. In accordance with the Public Order Act (1936), police were given the right to limit the freedom of demonstrations, meetings and assemblies.

In spite of this, mass actions of the unemployed con-

tinued in Britain. In the mid-1930s, anti-war actions increased. In June 1935, the Peace Plebiscite was held, with more than 11 million people taking part. The influence of the Communist Party and of anti-fascist organisations grew. In 1937, democratic forces achieved the banning of fascist demonstrations.

The growth of Anglo-German contradictions prompted Britain to enter into military alliances with a number of European countries and to offer military guarantees to Poland, Romania, Greece and Turkey. But on the eve of the war the British ruling circles played a double game. Conducting negotiations with the USSR and Nazi Germany simultaneously, they frustrated the creation of a united anti-fascist front of nations.

#### 4. Italy

*Revolutionary upsurge in 1917-1920.* Italy came out of the First World War as one of the victor countries. The area of Trieste, the Istrian Peninsula and several other territories were transferred to it. However, great human losses and the rigors of war took their toll on the country's overall economic situation. At the same time, definite advances in the country's industrial development occurred in the years of the war. Italy changed from an agrarian state into an agro-industrial state. Enterprises of the metallurgical, machine-building and chemical industries were greatly developed. Increased concentration and centralisation of production and capital led to the formation of various monopoly associations: Fiat in the automobile industry, Breda in the production of military equipment, and others. In 1920, Italy was hit by its first post-war economic crisis, which caused the material situation of the working people to deteriorate even further.

The political situation in the country also deteriorated. During the war and in the first post-war years the government was headed by the Liberals. But the ruling classes, dissatisfied with the Liberals' policy, made an attempt to reorganise their forces in order to counteract the growing influence of workers' organisations. In January 1919, on the initiative of the Vatican, the Catholic People's Party was created. Under its aegis arose the Italian Confede-

ration of Workers—a Catholic trade-union association. Alongside this, some of the bourgeois political leaders began encouraging the fascist movement. The first fascist groups appeared in the spring of 1919. Taking on the leadership of Italian fascism was Benito Mussolini. The Fascist Party's programme put forward demagogic anti-capitalist and anti-landlord slogans. At the same time, the fascists advocated the re-creation of the "Great Roman Empire".

The consequences of war brought about an acute aggravation of social contradictions in the country, which led to a revolutionary crisis from 1918 to 1920. In August 1917, the workers of Turin staged a large-scale armed uprising in protest against the war. The strike movement took on a broad scope. Workers fought for a rise in pay, for the establishment of an eight-hour working day, for the right of trade unions to enter into collective agreements, etc. Isolated strikes often grew into general strikes. Thus, in August-September 1919, a two-month general strike was conducted by 200,000 workers of the metallurgical industry. In face of the upsurge of the working-class movement, company owners agreed to meet a number of the working people's demands.

In the countryside, agricultural workers actively fought for their vital interests. They struggled for rises in pay and the introduction of an eight-hour working day. Poor people also took over lands left idle by landowners. A portion of these plots were later assigned as peasant holdings. In that period, lower rents on land and the recognition of trade-union rights for agricultural workers were gained.

At the head of the revolutionary movement was the Italian Socialist Party. Its congress held in September 1918 came out in favour of the immediate conclusion of a peace agreement, revolutionary seizure of power and the expropriation of capital, and against intervention in Soviet Russia. The existence of heterogeneous trends (right-wing, centrist, left-wing) caused sharp conflicts within the Socialist Party on questions concerning the theory and tactics of the revolutionary movement. At its congress held in October 1919, the Italian Socialist Party adopted a new programme which underlined the necessity of forcibly overthrowing bourgeois power and estab-

lishing a dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets. The congress confirmed an earlier resolution on the party's joining the Comintern.

In this period the movement of solidarity of the Italian working people with Soviet Russia was increasingly gaining strength. Railwaymen, port workers, sailors and other groups of working people were active in this movement. Workers in Genoa, Naples, and other ports in Italy disrupted the departure of vessels carrying military cargoes to the interventionists. In July 1919 a two-day general strike of solidarity with Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary was held throughout Italy. In August 1919, the Francesco Nitti government was forced to withdraw Italian troops from Russia. In the spring and summer of 1920 the Italian working people energetically joined the campaign against the Polish intervention in Soviet Russia.

In 1920 the class struggle in Italy reached a climax. General strikes began in the spring of that year and the movement of the peasants expanded. The working masses began to pose the question of seizing power. On the initiative of the left socialist l'Ordine Nuovo group led by Antonio Gramsci, a movement began to set up factory councils, and turn them into organs of workers' power. Such councils were formed in Turin. The attempt by the entrepreneurs in the spring of 1920 to dissolve the workers' councils with the help of the authorities led to a tremendous general strike which embraced not only Turin but the whole of northern Italy.

The workers of the metal-working industry in Milan demanded a rise in pay and on August 20, 1920, announced a general strike. They seized enterprises and demanded that "the direct control of the government and the workers should be established over the whole of the metal-working industry". Workers in other towns followed in the wake of the metal workers of Milan. Workers from different branches of industry joined the movement. Factories in Milan, Rome, Naples, Genoa, Turin and other towns and cities were in the hands of the Italian proletariat. The workers themselves got production going at the enterprises they occupied and set up factory councils and detachments of the Red Guard. The municipalities of Milan, Florence, and several other towns were under workers' control. The central authorities were in no posi-

tion to put a stop to the movement. Objective conditions for a socialist revolution took shape in the country.

But the Italian proletariat was not able to attain a victory. The leaders of the Socialist Party took a passive position. Many workers failed to understand that in order to achieve a victory it was necessary to seize not only the factories, but political power as well. All of this made it easier for the government and company owners to suppress the revolutionary movement of the Italian working people. On September 19, 1920, an agreement was signed between employers and the trade unions to raise wages and put an end to the takeover of enterprises. Such a compromise meant the defeat of the workers.

Following this, conflict in the Socialist Party between the left-wing and the reformists was even further aggravated. In January 1921, the left-wing withdrew from the Italian Socialist Party and formed the Italian Communist Party. The creation of the Italian Communist Party was a critical turning point in the working-class movement of Italy.

The revolutionary upsurge in Italy won only partial gains for the working people. Parliament sanctioned the seizure of lands by the peasantry and the eight-hour working day was legislatively established.

*The fascist takeover. Consolidation of the fascist dictatorship.* Near the end of 1920, counter-revolutionary forces and their advance detachment—the fascist movement—stepped up their activities in Italy. In November 1920, fascists broke up the Bologna city council, which was headed by Socialists, and crushed the democratic organisations in that city. At parliamentary elections in May 1921, they achieved no small success and formed a parliamentary faction. In response to this, the working people began to organise anti-fascist strikes and demonstrations and to form detachments to rebuff fascist gangs. In February 1921, a fierce clash between workers and fascists took place in Florence. In a number of areas in Italy detachments of "people's daredevils" (Arditi del popolo) sprang up, offering armed resistance to the fascists. In July 1921, the workers of Rome conducted mass anti-fascist demonstrations, and in November a general anti-fascist strike was held.

In face of the fascist threat, the Socialist Party fol-

lowed tactics of passive resistance. And in August 1921, it signed an "appeasement pact" with the fascists, in accordance with which both sides agreed to refrain from violent actions. Mistakes in the struggle against the fascist threat were made by the Socialist Party's leadership headed by Amadeo Bordiga, who came out against the creation of a united anti-fascist front. However, sentiments in favour of creating such a front grew stronger. In February 1922, an anti-fascist Labour Alliance was created which included the Socialist Party, the General Confederation of Labour and several other organisations. The Communist Party declared its support of the Alliance. In August 1922, the Labour Alliance conducted a general anti-fascist strike. But the workers did not use any stronger, more decisive methods of struggle.

This prompted the fascists to move toward the seizure of power. Between the spring and autumn of 1922 the fascists carried out a gradual armed seizure of power in various cities of Italy. On October 28, 1922, they began a march on Rome. Columns of fascists marched into the capital of Italy, meeting no resistance on the part of government troops. The King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel, appointed Benito Mussolini Prime Minister. The majority of MPs—representatives of the bourgeois parties—gave their vote of confidence to the new, as of yet coalition government headed by Mussolini.

The fascists prohibited factory councils, restricted the rights of trade unions, drove peasants off the lands they had seized from landowners, broke up workers' clubs and killed working-class activists. They attacked the Communist Party with particular force. In January 1923, numerous arrests of Communist Party leaders were made, which considerably weakened it. In April 1923, Antonio Gramsci, Palmiro Togliatti and other activists took up the party leadership and began to turn the party towards united front tactics.

The terrorist policy of fascism stepped up the activity of the anti-fascist movement not only on the part of Communists, but on the part of other democratic parties as well, including the bourgeois parties. In 1923, an opposition made up of Catholics, certain Liberals, and democrats took shape. But through gerrymandering and terror, the fascists and right-wing Liberals succeeded in

obtaining a majority at the parliamentary elections in April 1924. Members of the opposition, among them Socialist Giacomo Matteotti, brought forth convincing evidence on the unlawful actions of the fascists during the election campaign. In response to this, fascist hirelings brutally murdered Matteotti on June 10, 1924. This led to the rise of an acute political crisis in the country (the Matteotti crisis). In the summer of 1924, a united opposition front against fascism (the Aventino Bloc) took shape in Italy. The bloc included the Communists, Socialists, Radicals, certain Liberals, and representatives of the People's Party. But the passive tactics of the majority of the bloc's participants, who had quit the parliament, allowed the fascists to stay in power. In January 1925, repressions against the "Aventinos" began. In July, their leader Giovanni Amendola was killed. In October, the same fate befell other prominent activists of the anti-fascist movement.

The fascists took measures toward consolidating their dictatorship. By decrees issued in 1926, Mussolini was placed above parliament and a purge of the state apparatus began. All political parties and organisations (other than fascist) were outlawed, and members of the opposition were stripped of their parliamentary credentials. Fascist syndicates were organised in place of trade unions. The death penalty was reinstated and special tribunals were instituted for the trials of anti-fascists. A secret political police (the OVRA) was created to fight the opposition. In November 1926, Antonio Gramsci and a majority of the other Communist Party leaders were arrested (Gramsci died in prison in 1937). Thus, an absolute terrorist dictatorship of fascism was established in Italy.

Alongside terrorist methods, the fascists resorted to social demagoguery as well. In April 1927 they published their own "Labour Charter", in which they tried to argue that in Italy there now existed an above-class state which supposedly defended the interests of the entire people. In fact, the Charter reflected the idea of creating a corporate fascist state. In 1928, a new electoral law was adopted which secured the monopoly of the Fascist Party in the political life of the country. In 1929, Mussolini concluded what were known as the Lateran Accords with the Pope. The agreement recognised the formation of

the sovereign state of the Vatican within the territory of Rome. Financial relations between the two sides were settled and the rights and privileges of the Catholic Church in Italy defined.

With their coming to power, the fascists increased the advocacy of nationalist and chauvinist lines in Italy's foreign policy. They aimed at broadening their expansion in the regions of the Mediterranean and the Middle East. In January 1924, Italy got Yugoslavia to consent to the Italian takeover of the port of Fiume.

*Italy in the 1930s.* The world crisis strongly affected the Italian economy. Industrial production dropped by one third, foreign trade by two thirds, and the financial system became disorganised. A million-strong army of unemployed formed in the country. To provide assistance to the monopolies, the fascist government created the Industrial Reconstruction Institute, which allocated credit to the monopolies, lowered the price of shares, and promoted forced formation of cartels. All of this led to the growth of state-monopoly capitalism. Striving to raise the productivity of agriculture, particularly grain production and livestock breeding, Mussolini's government launched a "battle for bread" campaign. The campaign did succeed in increasing wheat production, but in the course of it thousands of peasants suffered economic ruin.

In the period of crisis the fascists introduced the so-called corporative system, which was aimed at forcibly regulating relations between labour and capital in favour of the latter. A decree issued in 1930 created the National Council of Corporations, comprised of the fascist trade unions' representatives, company owners, ministers, specialists, and members of the Fascist Party. Its tasks included the control of the economy and the coordination of industrial relations.

The Fascist Party also took measures to further ensure the concentration of all political power in its hands. With this aim, a reorganisation of the party was implemented in 1931 and yet another reform of the electoral system was carried out.

In 1934, the organisation of "corporations" began. Four confederations of entrepreneurs were formed: the industrialists, merchants, agriculturists, and credit and insurance firms, with four corresponding confederations of

hired labour and one other confederation of freelance professionals and artists. In the fascists' opinion, "class cooperation" was realised through these corporations. At the head of the whole corporation system stood Mussolini. By the middle of the 1930s, the entire population of Italy was drawn into the corporation system.

The consolidation of the fascist dictatorship temporarily weakened the anti-fascist movement. The bourgeois parties simply self-dissolved. Many political figures, including reformists, abandoned the struggle. True, in the years of crisis workers conducted a number of strikes and demonstrations. Italian Socialists in exile stepped up their activities. In August 1934, representatives of the Italian Communist Party and the Italian Socialist Party signed a pact on unity of action. However, in face of the bloody terror it was impossible to develop a mass anti-fascist movement.

The economic crisis increased fascist Italy's desire for military expansion. The building of a navy, including battleships, began at an accelerated pace in the country and the production of combat aircraft increased. In 1934, Mussolini declared the start of an "epoch of armaments" and passed a law on adapting science to military purposes. The aggressive aspirations of Italian fascism focussed on plans to annex Ethiopia. Without declaring war, Mussolini launched the invasion of a 600,000-strong Italian army into Ethiopia on October 3, 1935. By May 1936, Ethiopia was occupied by Italian fascist troops. Shortly thereafter, the Italian fascists joined in the intervention in Spain, helping Spanish fascists to crush the Republic.

In the second half of the 1930s there was an increasing rapprochement between fascist Italy and Hitler Germany. In October 1936 an agreement on political cooperation was signed by the two countries. Mussolini described this agreement as the "axis" around which the whole of Europe would unite (hence "the Berlin-Rome axis"). A new step in consolidating the alliance of the fascist states was the joining by Italy of the "anti-Comintern pact" between Germany and Japan in November 1937. In December 1937 Italy withdrew from the League of Nations. The course adopted in Italy's foreign policy posed a serious threat to the imperialist interests of Britain and France, especially in the Mediterranean. However, these

two countries connived at the Italian expansion. As early as January 1935, Mussolini secured France's consent to the seizure of Ethiopia. Two years later he concluded a "gentlemen's agreement" with Britain to mutually respect each other's interests in the Mediterranean. A year later, Britain made even greater concessions to Italy in the Mediterranean and Red Sea areas. Italy, however, was ever more noticeably becoming the "junior partner" of German fascism. It gave its consent to the seizure of Austria and Czechoslovak lands by Germany. On May 22, 1939, Italy and Germany, in signing the so-called "steel pact", cemented their military alliance.

As Italy's foreign policy became more and more aggressive, fascism was increasingly imposed on Italy. Particular attention was paid by Mussolini to expanding the mass base of fascism. For this purpose, in 1937 it was decided to unite all the youth and children's organisations into a single organisation. Civil servants and even housewives were drawn into fascist organisations. On January 19, 1939, parliament was finally dissolved. In its place a Chamber of Corporations, appointed from above, was set up. It was composed of 700 representatives from state organisations, the Fascist Party and 22 sectoral corporations. All of them were appointed by Mussolini. The Fascist Grand Council began to play the leading role in governing the state.

By 1937 Italy's industrial production reached its pre-crisis level. Preparing for war, the fascist government launched a vigorous economic policy of autarky, aimed at making the country self-sufficient in terms of strategic raw materials and foodstuffs in case of war. The fascists demagogically thrust on Italy a campaign of "battles for bread, coal, oil and electricity". Intense militarisation of the entire economy began. The policy of autarky lay like a heavy burden on the shoulders of the working people. At the same time, it brought colossal profits to the largest monopolies.

The increased aggressiveness of Italian fascism was met by vigorous counteractions on the part of the Communist Party. Italian Communists came out against the expansionist war of Italy in Ethiopia and rose in support of the Spanish Republic. Thirty-three hundred Italian anti-fascists, mainly Communists, fought as members of

international brigades on the side of the Spanish Republic. In 1937, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party once again signed a pact on unity of action. They pledged to carry on the struggle for the achievement of freedom and democracy and for the establishment of a democratic republic headed by the working-class. Despite great hardship and losses, the Communist Party maintained contact with anti-fascists within Italy. Its activities helped lay the groundwork for the destruction of the fascist regime.

## 5. Spain

*Revolutionary upsurge in Spain following the First World War.* On the eve of the war, Spain was a country with a medium level of development. It was at that time still a monarchy, with King Alfonso XIII (of the Bourbon dynasty) on the throne. Foreign capital, mainly British, held a strong position in its economy. In agriculture, semi-feudal relations predominated. Monarchic and other reactionary forces received significant support from the Catholic Church. All of this held back the further development of the country.

During the First World War, Spain maintained a position of neutrality and carried on a profitable trade with the belligerents. With the influence of the October Revolution, a revolutionary upsurge began in Spain. Workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, intelligentsia and students rose in struggle against the archaic order. Alongside the workers' strikes and peasant disturbances, a protest movement against the country's participation in the blockade and armed intervention in Russia spread. Membership in the General Union of Workers and the National Confederation of Labour grew rapidly. Within the ranks of the Socialist Workers' Party the left wing gained strength. On April 15, 1920, the Spanish Communist Party was formed on the basis of the Socialist Youth Federation. On April 13, 1921, left Socialists set up the Spanish Communist Workers' Party. Both parties joined the Comintern and on November 7, 1921, they combined to form a single party—the Communist Party of Spain.

The ruling circles were forced to make certain con-

cessions. They instituted an eight-hour working day, raised wages, established old-age and disability insurance, and prohibited child labour. Already in 1921, however, they once again launched an attack on the working people and all democratic masses and began a course toward establishing a military fascist dictatorship.

*The establishment of a military-monarchic dictatorship.* On September 13, 1923, the commander of a military district in Catalonia, General Miguel Primo de Rivera, known for his savage reprisals against the populations of Spanish colonies, carried out a coup and established a military-monarchic dictatorship in the country. He dissolved the parliament (the Cortes), prohibited the activity of political parties, revoked all bourgeois-democratic freedoms, and conducted mass arrests of workers and democrats. Participants in the struggle for national equality were subjected to cruel repressions. Together, France and Spain crushed the resistance of national forces in Morocco.

Primo de Rivera was supported by the big bourgeoisie, by landowners, the clergy and the reactionary military. In May 1924, he founded a new party—the Patriotic Union. Under the new regime, entire sectors of industry were taken over by the state. Monopoly associations arose in oil, coal and tobacco production. Following Mussolini's example, Primo de Rivera announced the creation of "corporations".

In October 1927, in order to ward off growing discontent, Primo de Rivera set up a National Assembly to work out a new constitution. However, he could not manage to stabilise his power. Various social forces came out against the military-monarchic dictatorship. Along with strikes and demonstrations, open revolts flared up. On June 26, 1930, Miguel Primo de Rivera resigned and left for France.

*The bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1931.* The world economic crisis had a great effect on Spain. It disrupted the country's industry, agriculture, trade and finances. The working masses fell under very difficult times. Unemployment hit more than 40 per cent of the workers. Broad sectors of the population rose in protest, demanding an improvement in conditions and the establishment of a democratic republic. The slogan "Down with

the monarchy!" appeared everywhere. An acute revolutionary crisis arose in Spain.

The outcome of elections held on April 12, 1931, set off the revolutionary explosion. The supporters of the monarchy suffered a defeat at the elections, the majority of the electorate voting for the republicans. The news about the outcome of the elections stirred up the whole country. Everywhere workers and democrats held demonstrations, and began to seize government institutions and to free political prisoners. The municipalities of a number of towns proclaimed a republic. On the demand of the republicans King Alfonso XIII abdicated on April 14, 1931, and Spain became a republic. This was a great achievement for the bourgeois-democratic revolution. On December 9, 1931, a new constitution was adopted which declared the country "a republic of working people of all classes". However, on the whole, the old state and military apparatus was left untouched.

The Republican government improved the position of the working classes somewhat. In accordance with a law on agrarian reform (September 9, 1932), landowners' lands were subject to confiscation with monetary redemption. In a period of two years following the adoption of the law, 74,000 hectares of land were bought out from landowners. The heaviest feudal obligations were abolished and rents were lowered. Partial measures towards solving the nationalities problem were adopted. As for the workers, the eight-hour working day and social insurance were enforced by law and hiring practices legally regulated. But these measures could not fully satisfy the masses.

The class struggle in Spain continued. The strike movement took on broad scope. In farm areas, peasant disturbances increased. The peasants seized landowners' lands and together with hired farm hands formed their own committees and armed detachments. The influence of the Communist Party and the trade unions grew. José Díaz and Dolores Ibárruri were elected as leaders of the Communist Party. The left wing of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party and of the General Union of Workers gained strength. Conditions for the creation of a united workers' front took shape in Spain. In 1934, workers' alliances sprang up—organs of a left-wing front, which

included the Socialists and Communists. At the beginning of October 1934, the workers' alliances conducted a general strike, in which nearly a million people took part. In a number of regions around the country, strikes turned into armed struggles. In the course of an armed uprising in Asturia, workers' alliances proclaimed a workers' and peasants' republic. For two weeks the workers of Asturia repelled the attacks of government troops. However, the workers suffered defeat. The October battles in Spain were followed by a two-year reactionary assault.

*The creation and victory of the Popular Front.* Spanish reactionaries were highly discomfited by the overthrow of the monarchy and the loss of their position in the country. They staged counter-revolutionary revolts and formed their own associations: the Confederation of Autonomous Right Wingers and the fascist Falange. In elections at the end of 1933, the right-wingers sustained a victory and proceeded to launch an offensive against revolutionary gains. Under these conditions, the Communist Party sounded the call for resistance to reactionary forces. In March 1935, it put forward a proposal for the creation of an anti-fascist Popular Front. Uniting in the Front were the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Republican Union, the Left Catalonian Party, and the Basque petty-bourgeois nationalists. On January 15, anti-fascist parties and organisations accepted the Popular Front's programme, which included the socio-economic demands of the working people and middle classes. At elections to the Cortes on February 16, 1936, the Popular Front scored an impressive victory. Following the elections, the government of Manuel Asana was formed, supported by the Popular Front.

The new government freed 30,000 political prisoners, restored democratic freedoms, and resumed the implementation of the agrarian reform (by June 1936, peasants received more than 700,000 hectares of land). Workers took over enterprises, introduced workers' control, and organised detachments of militia. The autonomy of Catalonia was restored.

However, the Republican government was soft in dealing with reactionary and fascist organisations, which were busy making plans for an armed revolt against the Re-

public. The exploiter classes sabotaged the measures of the Popular Front by transferring money abroad, jacking up prices, closing down enterprises and decreasing the areas of land under cultivation. Assassinations of progressive activists began. Fascist elements rallied around the Spanish Military Union headed by Generals Francisco Franco, José Sanjurjo and others.

*The national revolutionary war of the Spanish people.* On July 18, 1936, under the leadership of General Franco, a fascist rebellion began in Spanish Morocco and on the Canary and Balearic Islands. The rebellion rapidly enveloped the whole of Spain. Almost the entire army went over to the side of the rebels. This posed a tremendous threat to the Spanish Republic and the Popular Front government. However, the working masses quickly set up detachments of people's militia and crushed the main forces of the mutineers throughout most of Spain.

At that point, the fascist states of Germany and Italy came to the aid of Franco's forces. They sent into Spain more than 300,000 officers and men. This was blatant export of counter-revolution. The USA, France and Britain maintained a policy of "non-intervention", which only encouraged the fascist aggressors. The Soviet government declared its support of the Spanish Republic. Some 3,000 Soviet volunteers went to aid in the fight. Anti-fascists from other countries also came to Spain. More than 42,000 people from 54 countries around the world fought in international brigades on the side of the Republic.

The struggle against the fascist mutineers in Spain grew into a national revolutionary war. The government, headed as of October 4, 1936 by leader of the left-wing Socialists Largo Caballero, set about forming a regular army and expanded the agrarian reform. Almost 5.5 million hectares of the landed estates and forests were divided up among the peasants and poor. The Basque Province was granted autonomy. However, Caballero's government was unable to organise the rebuff of the rebels, who came right up as far as Madrid, the country's capital. Moreover, contradictions within the Popular Front became acute. The left-wing Socialists tried to crowd out other organisations. Anarchists strove

for the immediate introduction of "anarcho-communism". At the beginning of May 1937, anarchists and Trotskyites staged an uprising in Catalonia. Their revolt was crushed.

As of May 17, 1937, the government was headed by Juan Negrín, who carried out the policy of the Popular Front in a more consistent manner. Offensive operations were launched against fascist troops. Within the country, a monopoly on foreign trade was established; a decree was approved on the nationalisation of industry, railways and ports; measures were taken towards eliminating illiteracy; and working people's access to all levels of education was expanded. The Spanish Republic was becoming a people's democratic state.

However, on the whole, both the internal and international position of the Republic continued to worsen. The Western powers moved further and further away from the policy of "non-intervention" and closer towards support of Franco. At the end of 1938, Franco's troops stepped up their offensive. The troops of the fascist mutineers were greatly helped by the "fifth column", that is, secret agents and conspirators working in the rear of the Republican forces. The very term "fifth column" was coined during the assault of Franco's forces on Madrid. Rebel General Mola stated at that time: "We are attacking Madrid with four columns of troops. The fifth column is waiting for us in the capital itself."

At the beginning of 1939, the Republic's situation became catastrophic. On February 27, 1939, Britain and France, and on April 1 the USA, formally declared their recognition of the Franco government. A defeatist mood spread among the ranks of the Republican forces. Taking this into account, anarchists staged a revolt in March 1939 in Madrid and other cities where power still lay in the hands of the Republican forces. This was the final blow to the Spanish Republic. The Popular Front fell apart. Franco's forces took over Madrid. On March 28-30, 1939, fascist troops established control over all of Spain. For long years to come the cruel dictatorship of fascism reigned in the country.

## 6. Struggle Between the Forces of Progress and Reaction in Other Countries of Europe

The period between the two world wars was permeated by sharp antagonism between the forces of progress and reaction in virtually all countries of Europe. At the end of the First World War, an upsurge in class actions of the working masses was seen everywhere and certain socio-economic gains were made. However, in connection with the world economic crisis, the assault of reaction and fascism was stepped up. In some countries, fascism rose to success, while in others its assault was held in check.

*Austria.* In the autumn of 1918, Austria-Hungary, together with its allies, suffered defeat in the war. A revolutionary situation took shape in the country. On October 11, 1918, Polish lands, and later those of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, were separated from Austria. As a result, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy collapsed. Within the territory of Austria proper, a bourgeois-democratic revolution took place. On November 11, 1918, the Austro-Hungarian monarch, Charles I, abdicated. On the following day, the Provisional National Assembly declared Austria a republic. In a number of cities, the workers and the Soviets (councils) set up by them established their control over production and supply, formed detachments of the Red Guard, and were spontaneously drawn towards carrying out a socialist revolution. In November 1918, a group of left-wing Social-Democrats had held a conference at which they proclaimed the formation of the Communist Party of Austria.

The leaders of the Austrian Social-Democrats, who took control of the working-class movement and headed the first government of Austria, did not allow the bourgeois-democratic revolution to grow into a socialist one. On February 18, 1919, they held elections to the Constituent Assembly, which "legalised" the bourgeois republic. On September 10, 1919, Austria signed the St. Germain Peace Treaty with the Entente. On October 1, 1920, the Constituent Assembly adopted the Constitution, in accordance with which Austria was declared a democratic republic.

In the period of capitalist stabilisation in Austria,

sharp social contradictions remained. The fascist threat mounted. Killings of working-class activists by fascists grew in number. In connection with this, large-scale strikes and demonstrations began to be held in Austria in 1927. In July, armed actions by workers took place. However, the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party urged the workers to stop the fighting.

In the years of the world economic crisis, the struggle between workers and fascists once again came to a head. Owing to the effect of the fascists coming to power in Germany, sentiments toward stopping a totalitarian dictatorship from being set up in Austria as well increased. In March, 1933, the government headed by Engelbert Dollfuss who was backed by the fascist organisation Heimwehr, broke up parliament, revoked democratic freedoms and, following the example of Italy, declared an authoritarian system of government in Austria.

The Communist Party came forward with a proposal for a general strike and the overthrow of the Dollfuss dictatorship. Armed clashes between workers and the army and Heimwehr detachments took place in Austria in February 1934. Although it suffered defeat, the armed struggle of the Austrian proletariat was of great significance in that it was the first example of armed resistance to fascism.

Hitler Germany was displeased with the growing influence of Italy in Austria. The pro-German fascist party (the National-Socialist Party) in Austria was banned by Dollfuss. In connection with this, the Hitlerites began preparing a coup.

On July 25, 1934, Engelbert Dollfuss was fatally wounded. Following the murder of Dollfuss, Kurt von Schuschnigg became Chancellor of Austria. Schuschnigg was known for his pro-German sentiments. Under pressure from Hitler Germany, Austria moved further and further away from Italy. In accordance with an Austrian-German treaty concluded on July 11, 1936, Austria's foreign policy was placed under the control of Germany. Soon after this, Germany finalised its decision to seize Austria. With Germany's assistance, the Austrian National-Socialists began to prepare an armed assault on Vienna. But on March 11, 1938, German troops crossed the border into Austria. That same day, the new Chancellor

of Austria, National-Socialist Arthur Seiss-Inquart, announced the annexation of Austria to Germany. Thus ended the existence of the Austrian republic, which became the first victim of German aggression in Europe.

*The Soviet republic in Hungary.* Sharp antagonism between revolutionary forces and bourgeois reactionaries spread in Hungary after the First World War. At the end of 1917 and during the entire year of 1918, Hungary was the site of stormy demonstrations and strikes. Unrest was rampant among its troops. National forces sought the country's secession from Austria. In the course of mass actions in 1918, the first Soviets (councils) of workers' deputies sprang up. At the end of October 1918, a bourgeois-democratic revolution began in Hungary. On November 16, Hungary was declared a republic. Universal suffrage was introduced in the country, freedom of assembly was proclaimed, and the eight-hour working day was established. Large-scale landownership was restricted.

Following the example of the Russian working people, the workers of Hungary strove to turn the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. The Communist Party of Hungary, founded on November 24, 1918, began to play a leading role in this process. However, the bourgeois government, spurred on by international reaction, began to persecute the Communists. In February 1919, Béla Kun and other leaders of the Communist Party were arrested. But this only aggravated the situation in the country. A revolutionary explosion followed an ultimatum given by the Entente powers on March 20, 1919, in which they announced their intention to occupy part of Hungary.

The outrage of the Hungarian people caused by the demands of the Entente was so great that the bourgeois government chose to resign. On March 21, 1919, power in the country was taken over by the Social-Democrats and Communists, who created a united Socialist Party of Hungary. A Soviet Republic was declared in Hungary. Soviet power in the country lasted only 133 days. In that short period, profound political and economic transformations were carried out in Hungary. Capitalist and national oppression were eradicated and the exploiters stripped of political rights. All power was given over to the Soviets of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies.

The police were replaced by a Red Militia, a Red Army was formed, and organs of a proletarian intelligence service were created. The banks, large industrial enterprises, mines, transport and trade were nationalised. A foreign trade monopoly was set up. Large landed estates were subject to nationalisation and agricultural production cooperatives were formed instead. The material well-being of the working people was improved. These and other measures testified to the fact that the working class of Hungary and the Hungarian Communists strove to establish a socialist system in the country.

The constructive work of the Hungarian revolutionaries was carried out under difficult international circumstances. As of April 1919, French, Romanian and Czech troops began a campaign against Soviet Hungary. The Hungarian Red Army not only stopped the assault of the Entente troops, but moved over to the offensive. It liberated a considerable part of Eastern Slovakia, where, for a short time, Soviet power was also proclaimed. The Entente then stepped up its push against Soviet Hungary. At the same time, disagreement between the Social-Democrats and Communists increased within the country. All of this weakened the position of Soviet Hungary. Soviet Russia, which was itself in a difficult position, rushed to help the Hungarian revolutionaries. But the superiority of forces at that time proved to be on the side of international and internal counter-revolution. On August 1, the Soviet republic in Hungary fell. In spite of its defeat, it was of vast significance. Its experience served as a valuable lesson for the international revolutionary movement.

Following the defeat of Soviet power in Hungary, the counterrevolutionary dictatorship of Admiral Miklós Horthy was established and a period of white terror began. On June 4, 1920, the Entente forced Hungary to sign the Peace Treaty of Trianon, in accordance with which the country's territory was reduced by half. In the 1920s and 30s, industrial development was underway in Hungary. At the same time, its economy remained dependent on other states. In the political sphere, Hungary yielded more and more to the influence of Germany and was drawn into the arms race. In November 1938, it took part in the division of Czechoslovakia, annexing South-

ern Slovakia. In January 1939, Hungary joined the anti-Comintern pact. In March of that same year it occupied the Transcarpathian Ukraine. The Horthy regime drew Hungary into the world war.

*The rise and fall of the Polish bourgeois-landowner state.* Owing to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, conditions arose in which Poland, divided up between Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia, was restored its national independence and statehood. In accordance with a Soviet government decree of August 29, 1918, the Polish people were granted the right to create an independent state. On November 7, 1918, Poland was proclaimed an independent republic. With the support of the Polish Socialist Party, power in Poland was captured by the bourgeoisie. Józef Pilsudski became President and Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army in November 1918. A prominent figure of the right wing of the Polish Socialist Party, Pilsudski held extreme nationalist and chauvinist views.

The economic position of Poland remained quite difficult. The political situation was unstable. The working people both of the cities and countryside pressed for profound social and economic transformations. On December 16, 1918, the Communist Workers' Party of Poland was formed. It put forward slogans for a dictatorship of the proletariat, for the Soviets (councils), and for alliance with Soviet Russia. The authorities brought down cruel repressions against the Polish Communists.

International imperialist reaction strove to turn Poland into an anti-Soviet bridgehead and pushed it to participate in the intervention against Soviet Russia. With aid from the imperialist powers, an almost 600,000-strong army was formed in Poland. On April 25, 1920, the Polish government began a new interventionist campaign against the young Soviet state. Initially, detachments of the Red Army routed the Polish interventionist troops and moved deep into the interior of Poland. This motivated Polish Communists to establish temporary revolutionary rule in those territories of the country which had been liberated from the white Poles. However, following the retreat of Red Army detachments from the Warsaw area, revolutionary rule ceased to exist. On October 12, 1920, Poland agreed to a truce with Soviet Russia, and on

March 18, 1921, the two countries signed a peace treaty, in accordance with which the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia remained in Polish hands.

In the 1920s, Poland was oriented toward an alliance with France, which bore an anti-Soviet character. Following the Polish-Soviet war, a consolidation of bourgeois-landowner rule took place in Poland. On March 17, 1921, a new Constitution was adopted which proclaimed bourgeois-democratic freedoms. But the provisions made in the Constitution existed only on paper. The class and national struggle continued to intensify. In the autumn of 1923, an acute political crisis broke out in Poland. On November 5, a general strike began. In Cracow, it grew into an armed uprising. Although it was crushed, this uprising, as well as subsequent workers' actions, testified to the profound instability in the country's political situation.

The ruling circles then took up a course toward establishing a reactionary dictatorship in Poland. On May 12, 1926, supporters of Pilsudski established the reactionary "sanacja" regime. They amended the Constitution, increased the power of the President, and limited the rights of legislative organs.

The world economic crisis struck a hard blow to Polish industry, trade, finances and agriculture. The economic slump continued until the end of the 1930s. Class actions on the part of workers and peasants increased in the country. In face of the crisis, Pilsudski strove to establish a totalitarian regime and conducted a battle against any sign of opposition. In April 1935, the reactionary forces succeeded in adopting a new Constitution by which the Sejm (parliament) and the Senate became subordinate to the President and civil rights were eliminated. Poland's masses responded to this step with a new burst of anti-government demonstrations.

In its foreign policy, Poland slipped further and further into an anti-Soviet position. In January 1934, it concluded a non-aggression pact with Germany, which helped strengthen the onslaught of German fascism. Poland came out against the formation of a system of collective security in Europe and rejected all Soviet proposals for joint resistance against the aggressor. On March 17, 1938, the Polish reactionaries instigated a sharp conflict with Lithuania. In November 1938, Poland annexed the Te-

schen region of Czechoslovakia. At the same time, Hitler's Germany was preparing to seize Poland. In connection with this, German-Polish relations sharply deteriorated at the beginning of 1939. Under these conditions, Poland proceeded to conclude a mutual assistance treaty with Britain in April 1939. But even this could not save Poland. On September 1, 1939, Nazi Germany invaded Poland and quickly occupied the bulk of its territory. Bourgeois-landowner Poland ceased to exist.

*The rise and fall of the Czechoslovak republic.* At the end of the First World War, the population of Czech and Slovak lands, which had been annexed to Austria-Hungary, stepped up their struggle for national and state independence. In the summer of 1918, there arose in Prague a National Czechoslovak Committee, which demanded the formation of an independent Czechoslovak state. On October 28, 1918, the National Committee announced the creation of the Czechoslovak republic. Tomáš Masaryk was elected as its first President. In postwar peace negotiations, the borders of the new republic were determined. Included in its territory were Bohemia, Moravia, part of Silesia, Slovakia, and the Transcarpathian Ukraine. The dominant position in this multinational state was held by the Czech bourgeoisie and landowners. Czechoslovakia was an economically developed bourgeois state. However, in financial and trade relations the country was dependent on the major imperialist powers.

Under conditions of revolutionary upsurge, the government of Czechoslovakia was compelled to meet a number of important demands of the working people. In December 1918, a law on an eight-hour working day was passed, universal suffrage was introduced in elections to local bodies of self-government, and state insurance for unemployment, illness, and disability was initiated. The political privileges of noblemen were abolished. In April 1919, a law on carrying out a limited agrarian reform was approved. In March 1920, a constitution was adopted in accordance with which Czechoslovakia was declared a democratic republic. In its foreign policy, the Czechoslovak government oriented itself toward the Entente.

In the years of the revolutionary upsurge, a strong left wing developed in the working-class and social-democratic movement of Czechoslovakia. The working people and

left Social-Democrats came out in favour of solidarity with Soviet Russia and forced the government to take a position of neutrality during the Soviet-Polish war. In 1920, most of the Social-Democratic Party moved over to left-wing positions. The creation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was declared at a congress held on May 14-16, 1921. A short time later, other communist groups joined with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The Communist Party was immediately to be found at the heart of the working-class movement, leading strikes and fighting for a united workers' front. Its activity held in check any assault of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

In the period of capitalist stabilisation, the bourgeoisie of Czechoslovakia consolidated their dominant position in the country. During these years, industrial production grew at a rapid pace and surpassed the pre-war level by 20 per cent. A slight improvement in the living conditions of the working people took place. However, the strike movement of workers continued. At the same time, a consolidation of right-wing reactionary forces occurred. In 1926, fascist organisations sprang up in the country.

In the years of the world economic crisis, the activity of the fascist movement in Czechoslovakia was significantly stepped up. This was especially true in the Sudetenland, which had a large German population. The Sudeten National-Socialists, headed by Konrad Henlein, demanded that this area be separated from Czechoslovakia and given over to Germany. In Slovakia, a clerical fascist party headed by Andrej Hlinka appeared, which demanded that Slovakia, too, be separated from the unified state. The Communist Party concentrated all its efforts on uniting the democratic forces in a struggle against the threat of fascism.

In face of the growing fascist threat, Czechoslovakia began to turn towards the Soviet Union. It established diplomatic relations with it in June 1934. In 1935, a pact on mutual assistance was signed with the USSR. A year earlier, Czechoslovakia had concluded a similar treaty with France.

Meanwhile, with the backing of Nazi Germany, the Sudeten National-Socialists raised a storm of agitation for the division of Czechoslovakia. The country was faced

with the danger of losing its statehood. Under these conditions, the ruling circles of Czechoslovakia faltered in making a decision and failed to take advantage of the Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement. At the same time, Britain and France betrayed the national interests of Czechoslovakia. At a meeting with Germany and Italy in Munich at the end of September 1938, they proposed that Czechoslovakia give the Sudetenland to Germany and other territories to Poland and Hungary. The government of Czechoslovakia accepted the ultimatum; this in spite of the fact that the popular masses, headed by the Communist Party, were ready to defend their country against the fascist aggressors. On October 1, 1938, Germany seized the Sudetenland as well as several other areas. And on March 15, 1939, German troops occupied Bohemia and Moravia. Neither Britain nor France came to the assistance of Czechoslovakia. Thus perished the Czechoslovak republic.

*Romania.* Occupation of most of the country in the years of the war told heavily on its economic and political situation. A drop in the working people's material conditions of life and an extreme weariness of war served as the basis for mass class actions and anti-war demonstrations. The front ranks of the Romanian working classes conducted a struggle for democratic and social rights. At the beginning of 1918, a mutiny took place in the Romanian army and navy.

The ruling circles rushed to conclude a separate peace with Germany and Austria-Hungary (May 7, 1918). At the same time, they drew the country into anti-Soviet intervention. Romania seized the right-bank area of Soviet Moldavia (former Bessarabia) and then Bukovina. It also took part in the suppression of the Soviet republic in Hungary. For this, the Entente countries rewarded Romania by giving it, in accordance with peace treaties, a portion of the territories seized from its neighbours.

In the postwar period, Romania remained an agrarian country with strong vestiges of feudalism. It was largely dependent on foreign capital. Romania became a multinational state, in which the oppressed peoples were subjected to a forced "Romanianisation". The situation in the country was characterised by political instability. One government crisis followed another.

Owing to the influence of the October Revolution, Romania experienced an upsurge in class struggle, and a movement of solidarity with Soviet Russia was launched. In the autumn of 1918, workers' councils sprang up, armed detachments of working people formed, and strikes and peasant disturbances took place. On December 13, 1918, in Bucharest a general strike began and a demonstration was held, against which the reactionary forces carried out reprisals. But this did not end the workers' struggle. As a result of another general strike, which began on October 20, 1920, the authorities were forced to meet certain demands of the workers. The rise of the class struggle led to the creation in May 1921 of the Romanian Communist Party.

In the first few years following the war, certain reforms were carried out in the country. Universal suffrage for men was introduced and a decree on land reform was issued. In March 1923, Romania adopted a new constitution, which proclaimed the country a constitutional monarchy.

Romania entered into what was known as the Little Entente.<sup>1</sup> In 1921, Romania and Poland concluded a military treaty aimed against the Soviet state.

In the period of capitalist stabilisation, the economic position of Romania improved somewhat. In 1924, the pre-war level of industrial production was surpassed. But the class struggle did not die down. Strikes were held in many industrial centres. There were also peasant disturbances. In September 1924, a peasant uprising in Tatarbunary (Bessarabia) occurred. The insurgents created Soviets (councils) and proclaimed a Moldavian Soviet Republic. With the help of troops and the gendarmerie, the authorities sank the uprising of the Bessarabian peasants in a pool of blood.

In the second half of the 1920s, the situation in the country became acute in connection with a "royal crisis". In December 1925, Parliament deprived Crown Prince Carol of his right to the throne and exiled him from the country on charges of abuses and defalcations. Behind all

<sup>1</sup> From 1920 to 1938, a bloc consisting of Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia; an important link in the French system of military and political alliances in Europe.

this lay inter-party strife. When King Ferdinand died in July 1927, he was succeeded not by his son Carol, but by his six-year-old grandson Mihai (Michael). But the strife continued. It intensified once again in the years of the world economic crisis, which struck Romania too. In June 1930, Carol returned to Romania. He pulled off a coup and was crowned king. All of Romanian reactionary forces rallied round Carol. In 1931, the fascist party calling itself the Iron Guard sprang up. The reactionary circles demanded a revision of the Constitution along fascist lines. Some of the ruling upper circles leaned more and more heavily towards an alliance with fascist Germany.

The working people of Romania faced the task of achieving unity of action against the fascist threat. The Communist Party played a large role in this. Communists took an active part in the railwaymen's strike in February 1933. The Party established ties with the Ploughmen's Front, which also arose in 1933. In 1935, on the initiative of the Communists, an anti-fascist democratic front was formed.

Trying to prevent the growth of the democratic movement, the authorities stepped up repression against the Communist Party and other progressive organisations. On February 10, 1938, a totalitarian regime was established in Romania, with sole power in the hands of the king. The new Constitution eliminated democratic freedoms. Parliament was dissolved, trade unions banned, and political parties and anti-fascist organisation disbanded. The establishment of the king's dictatorship speeded the rapprochement of Romania and Nazi Germany. The economy and politics of the country increasingly fell under the control of German fascism.

*Class battles in Bulgaria.* In the First World War, Bulgaria fought on the side of the Austrian-German bloc. It fell almost totally under the control of Germany. At the end of the war, anti-war gatherings were held in Bulgaria and the army began to fall apart. In the spring of 1918, soldiers' uprisings began. In September 1918, the Vladai soldiers' rebellion took place which resulted in the establishment of a provisional republican government. Bulgaria's defeat in the war and the soldiers' uprisings had a great effect on the political situation in the country. On October 3, 1918, Tsar Ferdinand abdicated in favour

of his son Boris. Amnesty for political prisoners was announced, and the eight-hour working day was introduced. In May 1919, the Party of Close Socialists was renamed the Bulgarian Communist Party, which joined the Comintern. At elections to the National Assembly in August 1919, the Bulgarian Agrarian People's Union (BAPU) and the Communist Party enjoyed great success. Leader of the BAPU Aleksandr Stamboliski headed the new government, which carried out certain democratic reforms.

Defeat in the war determined Bulgaria's international position. In accordance with the peace treaty of 1919, it lost a number of territories and was deprived of an outlet to the Aegean Sea. In the first few years following the war, Bulgaria oriented itself toward France.

Bulgarian reactionaries were alarmed by the activities of Stamboliski's government. In 1922, a fascist-type organisation sprang up in the country. It was called the People's Collusion and was headed by Aleksandr Tsankov. Taking advantage of disagreements between the BAPU and the Bulgarian Communist Party, reactionary circles carried off a fascist coup on the night of June 8-9, 1923, and placed Tsankov at the head of the government. Aleksandr Stamboliski was killed during the coup. Tsankov's government broke up the trade unions, banned the Communist Party and democratic organisations, and carried out mass arrests.

The working masses responded to the fascist coup with armed demonstrations. On the initiative of the Communist Party, a people's armed rebellion was begun in Bulgaria on the night of September 22, 1923. In the course of the rebellion, organs of workers' and peasants' power began to be formed in a number of cities and villages. However, the rebellion was quickly suppressed. It was poorly organised and there was a lack of unity in the ranks of the insurgents. More than 20,000 people were killed and tens of thousands imprisoned. In January 1924, the National Assembly adopted an anti-democratic law "On the Protection of the State", in accordance with which the Communist Party was outlawed and thousands of Communists thrown into prison. After this, terrorist acts were organised in the country. In April 1925, an attempt was made on the life of Tsar Boris and a bomb set off in St. Sophia's Cathedral when attended by members of the govern-

mental and military upper circles. The authorities answered this with cruel mass repressions. Thousands of revolutionary-minded workers and peasants were shot without trial. At the beginning of 1926 Tsankov's government was forced to resign. The end of the 1920s was marked by a revival of the working-class forces and new actions by them.

In the years of the world economic crisis, a new revolutionary upsurge began in Bulgaria. At elections to the People's Assembly in 1931, victory was won by a Popular Bloc. Even though no substantial democratic reforms were implemented by the government of the Popular Bloc, the Bulgarian reactionaries became extremely worried and began gathering forces. In 1932, the pro-fascist organisations, Zveno and National-Social Movement, sprang up in the country. On May 19, 1934, Zveno activists and the reactionary Officers League staged a military coup and overthrew the Popular Bloc government. A military dictatorship was established in Bulgaria. Under these circumstances, the Communist Party put out a call for the creation of a united anti-fascist Popular Front. But the democratic forces were unable to prevent the consolidation of the reactionary regime. At the end of the 1930s, Bulgaria moved rapidly toward rapprochement with Nazi Germany and its allies and began to serve as an appendage of the German military machine. At the beginning of March 1941, Hitler's troops were brought into Bulgaria.

*The formation and development of the Yugoslav state.* The state of Yugoslavia was formed at the end of the First World War as a result of the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. It included Serbia and Montenegro, which were independent states before the war, and also the former provinces of Austria-Hungary with Slavic populations—Slovenia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Vojvodina. As early as July 20, 1917, on the island of Corfu, Croatian and Serbian representatives signed a declaration which stipulated the unification of the Slavic provinces of Austria-Hungary with Serbia. News of the October Revolution provided a powerful stimulus to the liberation movement of the southern Slavs. On December 1, 1918, the unified Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was proclaimed, headed by the Ser-

bian Karageorgević dynasty. At the head of the new government stood the Serbian bourgeoisie. Peace treaties established the borders of the new state.

In 1918-1919, sharp class battles were seen in the Yugoslav state. In Croatia the peasant masses seized landowners' properties and Soviets (councils) of workers' deputies sprang up in the cities. Strong ethnic contradictions were also to be found in the new state. The soldiers and workers of Croatia called for the creation of an independent Croatian republic. In Montenegro a national rebellion broke out. In 1919, the workers of major cities became involved in a campaign for solidarity with Soviet Russia and later—with the Hungarian Soviet Republic. In April 1919, a congress of Yugoslav Social-Democrats was held in Belgrade. The congress proclaimed the creation of the Socialist Workers' Party of Yugoslavia, which took up the positions of the Comintern. In April 1920, railwaymen staged a general strike.

The aggravation of class and national contradictions compelled the country's ruling circles to implement certain reforms. In 1919, the authorities decided to carry out an agrarian reform which limited the holdings of landowners. A law on the eight-hour working day was passed and workers' pay was increased. On June 28, 1921, the Constitution of Yugoslavia was adopted, which formally sealed the monarchic order in the country. In accordance with the Constitution, the right to vote was granted to men from the age of 21. At the same time, the authorities prohibited the activity of the Communist Party and carried out arrests against thousands of Communists.

Yugoslavia's foreign policy was characterised by anti-Sovietism and an orientation toward France. Yugoslavia signed military agreements with Greece (1919) and Czechoslovakia (1920), and a defence treaty with Romania (1921). In March 1923, relations with Bulgaria were settled. Relations remained strained with Italy, which in 1924 seized the free city of Fiume.

In the period of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, the economic and political situation in Yugoslavia remained difficult. The ruling circles' policy of forcibly "Serbianising" the country summoned up considerable resistance on the part of the Croats, Slovenes and other nationalities. Serbo-Croatian relations reached an espe-

cially tense level. The Croatian Peasant Party, headed by Stefan Radić, put forward a demand for the independence of Croatia within the framework of the Yugoslav state. The authorities carried on a repressive policy in relation to the Croatian Peasant Party. An attempt at a compromise and the creation of a coalition government with the Croatian Peasant Party as a participant was unsuccessful. In 1928, an acute political crisis arose in the country in connection with the 1925 Yugoslav-Italian agreement, under which Yugoslavia had made a number of economic and other concessions to Italy. In Belgrade, stormy demonstrations were held by students, with the support of workers. Once again blood was spilled in the streets of the capital. On June 28, 1928, a Serbian nationalist killed two Croatian deputies in the Skupština (parliament) and mortally wounded Stefan Radić. Disturbances broke out across the entire country and especially in Croatia.

On January 6, 1929, Yugoslavia's King Alexander assumed dictatorial powers, dissolved the Parliament, prohibited the activity of political parties, and abolished the Constitution. This marked the establishment of a military-fascist monarchic dictatorship in Yugoslavia. On October 3, 1929, the country's name was changed from the State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The ethnic names of the provinces were abolished and new provinces, called by the names of rivers, were formed.

But the authorities were unable to put an end to class battles. The world economic crisis aggravated the situation in the country still further. Once again, workers' strikes and peasant disturbances broke out. In November 1931, a peasant uprising took place in Dalmatia and troops were sent in to crush it. To prevent a revolutionary explosion, the authorities were forced to make concessions. In October 1931, a new constitution was put into effect. However, the opposition parties were not satisfied.

In the middle of the 1930s, tension once again built up in Yugoslavia's international situation. Italy and Germany attempted to place Yugoslavia under their control. However, in February 1934, under the influence of Britain and France, Yugoslavia joined the Balkan Pact (together with Romania, Turkey and Greece). Yugoslavia's inten-

tion to side even closer with France resulted in German agents organising the assassination of King Alexander when he arrived in Paris on October 9, 1934. France's Minister of Foreign Affairs Louis Barthou, who had come to meet King Alexander, was also murdered. Alexander's eleven-year-old son succeeded to the throne of Yugoslavia and was crowned Peter II.

In the second half of the 1930s, the foreign policy of Yugoslavia moved further and further toward a rapprochement with Nazi Germany and its allies. In March 1937, a treaty of neutrality and good-neighbourliness was signed between Yugoslavia and Italy. At the same time, Italy and Germany did everything to encourage Croatian separatists. In connection with this, an agreement on granting Croatia autonomy was signed on August 26, 1939. But this did nothing toward strengthening political stability in the country.

*The liberation movement in Albania.* Albania, after a history of Turkish domination, proclaimed its independence on November 28, 1912. It was a backward, agrarian country in which feudal relations remained and which was dependent on foreign capital. Political power was held by feudal aristocrats and landowners. Albania did not formally participate in the First World War. However, its territory was occupied by the belligerent countries. France, Britain, Italy and Russia intended to divide it up among neighbouring states. In 1919, Italy established its protectorate over Albania.

But the Albanian people rose up in a liberation struggle. Partisan detachments appeared in the country. In 1919, patriotic organisations were formed—the National Party and the Society for the National Salvation of Albania, which directed their efforts to the struggle against the Italian occupation. The national forces formed an Albanian government and created the Committee for National Defence. Under its direction, armed actions against the occupation were begun on June 5, 1920. The Albanian patriots gained the sympathies of the Italian working people. On August 2, 1920, the Albanian government and Italy signed a protocol on the withdrawal of Italian troops from Albania. Soon the Serbian and Greek invaders were driven out of the country. As a result, Albania regained its independence and on

December 17, 1920, was admitted to the League of Nations.

However, power in the country ended up in the hands of a feudal clique, which included the influential figure, Ahmed Zogu. The Albanian government followed an anti-popular and anti-national policy while the working masses fought for their vital interests. The peasants seized landowners' properties, refused to pay taxes and conducted an armed struggle. Workers strove for a rise in pay and better working conditions. In 1921-1923, at a number of enterprises (e.g. mines, printing houses) strikes were held and workers' organisations were formed.

The national bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia also joined the democratic movement. In 1921, a revolutionary-democratic organisation—the Bashkimi—appeared, headed by Avni Rustemi. Under public pressure, elections were held to the National Assembly in December 1923. This encouraged increased activity on the part of the masses. In order to strike fear into the revolutionary and democratic forces, reactionaries organised the assassination of Avni Rustemi in April 1924. But this act evoked an explosion of indignation from the masses. Revolutionary armed actions broke out everywhere. In the course of the rebellion, the power of the feudal lords was overthrown. On June 16, 1924, a democratic government was formed with the liberal-minded Bishop Fan Noli at its head. In essence, a bourgeois-democratic revolution took place in Albania. In response to this, Ahmed Zogu directed the formation of counter-revolutionary detachments within the territory of Yugoslavia and then invaded Albania and crushed the revolution. The feudal-bourgeois clique established an openly reactionary regime in Albania. In 1928, Ahmed Zogu proclaimed himself King.

In the period of capitalist stabilisation, the economic position of Albania improved somewhat. However, the country was deeply infiltrated by Italian capital. On November 27, 1926, Albania signed a pact on friendship and security with Italy according to which Italy became the "guarantor" of Albanian independence. A year later, the two countries signed a mutual defence treaty, which once again turned Albania into an Italian protectorate.

At the end of the 1920s and in the 1930s, opposition to the feudal-fascist dictatorship increased in Albania. Na-

tionalist and communist groups sprang up abroad. Communists began to act within the country as well. The world economic crisis aggravated class contradictions and spurred workers' and peasants' demonstrations. In 1933, the workers of Kuçevë staged a major strike. In 1935, an armed attempt to overthrow Zogu's regime was made. In 1936, workers' demonstrations were held in Tirana, Kuçevë, Kocë and other cities. The activity of underground workers' organisations increased.

On the eve of the Second World War, Italy decided to completely do away with Albania's independence. On April 7, 1939, Italian troops invaded Albania and in a short time occupied the entire country. The popular masses tried to organise a resistance. But the treacherous policy of Albania's reactionary circles led to their temporary loss of its independence.

*Political struggle in Greece.* On the eve of the First World War, Greece was a backward agrarian country with strong vestiges of feudalism. Nearly 70 per cent of the gainfully employed population was involved in agriculture. The country was considerably dependent on foreign, mostly British and French, capital. A monarchic regime existed in Greece. Participating in the political life of the country were the Liberal Party, the People's (monarchic) Party and the Republican Alliance.

Greece entered the war on the side of the Entente on June 29, 1917. Participation in the war only helped to further the subjugation of Greece to British and French diktat. At the insistence of imperialist powers, the Greek Government sent its soldiers to take part in anti-Soviet intervention in January 1919. In addition, it began a war with Turkey which lasted until 1922. The Paris Peace Conference came out in favour of transferring Thracia and Izmir to Greece.

Greece's participation in the war and in postwar adventurism led to a growth of class contradictions. Joining in the struggle for the working people's interests were the General Confederation of Labour, which was formed in October 1918, and the Socialist Workers' Party of Greece, created a month later. In the course of strikes, workers strove for a rise in pay, the introduction of an eight-hour working day, an end to anti-Soviet intervention and the recognition of Soviet Russia.

In the autumn of 1922, Greece suffered a defeat in the war with Turkey and was forced to give back Eastern Thracia and parts of Asia Minor. The discontent of the masses developed into a revolt among the troops in September 1922 and the replacement of the top rulers. Three former premiers, responsible for military defeats, were executed. However, mass unrest continued. In August 1923, a vast general strike was held in Greece. The struggle of the major political parties for dominance in the country also increased, which led to the abolishment of the monarchy and the declaration of Greece as a republic on March 5, 1924. However, as early as June 25, 1925, General Theodoros Pangalos carried off a coup, dissolved the Parliament, brought down repressions against the opposition, especially against Communists, and began a course towards establishing a fascist dictatorship. A year later, however, Pangalos was overthrown. The political situation in the country remained unstable. At the same time, at the end of the 1920s a slight improvement in the economic and financial position of Greece was seen.

However, the world economic crisis led to a worsening of the country's situation once again. The ruling circles hoped to find a way out of the crisis with the help of foreign loans. But the burden of debts led Greece to financial bankruptcy in April 1932. In the years of the crisis, the strike movement in Greece reached large-scale proportions and the peasant struggle grew as well.

In 1934, Greece began to move gradually out of the crisis, which, however, turned into a depression of sorts. Political instability remained. It was made worse by the growth of the fascist threat. In connection with this, the Communist Party of Greece put forward the creation of a united anti-fascist front as the main task. Under the banner of the fight against fascism, a 24-hour general strike was held on May 16, 1934. On October 5, 1934, the Communist Party and a number of democratic organisations signed an agreement on joint anti-fascist action.

But the democratic forces could not prevent a reactionary coup accomplished by General G. Kondyles on October 10, 1935. Following the coup, a monarchy was restored once again in Greece. The Communists and all the democratic forces called for the creation of a democratic popular government in Greece and joined together in a

Popular Front. However, the democratic forces of Greece did not succeed in halting the onslaught of fascism. On August 4, 1936, Joannes Metaxas, former army General, carried off yet another military coup and established a fascist dictatorship in the country. Under Metaxas's dictatorship, a rapprochement between Greece and Nazi Germany began. The German fascists imposed one-sided trade agreements on Greece, seized by force the supplies of the Greek Army, virtually taking over its command, and created its "fifth column" in the country.

*Establishment of a fascist dictatorship in Portugal.* Following the bourgeois revolution of 1910, Portugal became a bourgeois parliamentary republic. Agriculture, in which strong vestiges of feudalism remained, was predominant in the country's economy. Dependent on Britain, Portugal at the same time was itself a large colonial empire. The territory of the colonies was 23 times greater than that of the mother country. Political power was held by the Republican Party, which expressed the interests of landowners and the bourgeoisie. Under pressure from Britain, Portugal entered the First World War in 1916, which only brought new hardships for the working masses.

Under the influence of the October Revolution, the revolutionary movement in Portugal came to life. Due to an upsurge of the class struggle, the working people achieved the downfall of the reactionary president Sidonio Pais on December 14, 1918. In 1919-1921, general strikes were conducted in Portugal. Railwaymen, metal-workers and others went out on strike. In March 1921, the left-wing Socialists proclaimed the creation of the Portuguese Communist Party. The working masses, especially Communists, came out in solidarity with Soviet Russia.

For a long period following the bourgeois revolution, the country's political situation remained extremely unstable. Between 1910 and 1925, the government in Portugal changed hands forty times and eighteen putsches took place. In the years of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, reactionary circles began a course towards setting up a fascist dictatorship in the country. On May 28, 1926, the reactionary military accomplished a coup d'état and established its dictatorship. As of March 25, 1928,

General Carmona became president of the country. Patriotic and democratically-minded officers and workers failed in their attempts to do away with the dictatorship. On July 5, 1932, Antonio Oliveira Salazar, who had been until then Minister of Finance, was made prime minister. In fact, Salazar became the fascist dictator of Portugal for a long period.

According to the Constitution of 1933, Portugal was proclaimed a "unitary corporative republic", with the Prime Minister enjoying almost unlimited power. Three quarters of the adult population had no voting rights. Fascist "national trade unions" were organised. Strikes were prohibited. The Communist, Socialist and Republican parties were outlawed. The Catholic Church became a major support to the fascist dictatorship. Branches of a repressive apparatus were created in the country, including a secret political police, and concentration camps were organised. Expenditures on the Army, Navy and police grew considerably. The fascist regime extended to the colonial possessions of Portugal as well.

But the fascist dictatorship could not completely put an end to the opposition movement and the class struggle of the working people. The strike movement did not abate. In January 1934, a general strike of 60,000 workers was held; it was of an anti-fascist nature, and in a number of places grew into an armed uprising. In September 1936, the sailors on three naval ships in the port of Lisbon began an armed mutiny as a sign of solidarity with the Spanish Republic. Portuguese anti-fascists fought as members of international brigades in Spain.

In the second half of the 1930s, Salazar's regime began to establish increasingly close economic and political ties with fascist states. On March 17, 1939, Salazar and Franco signed a pact of friendship and non-aggression. For all intents and purposes, Portugal had joined the fascist bloc.

*Belgium.* Despite the fact that fascism achieved considerable success in a number of countries in Europe, it failed to establish its rule in countries with traditionally democratic regimes. This applied, in part, to Belgium. In the years of the First World War, Belgium bore the brunt of German occupation. However, ending up in the camp of victors, it expanded its territory in Europe, re-

ceived some of the German colonies in Africa as well as reparations. In international affairs, Belgium followed France and Great Britain. On September 7, 1920, a military agreement spearheaded against Germany was concluded between Belgium and France. In 1922, a similar agreement was signed with Great Britain.

In the political life of the country, predominant prestige was enjoyed by the Liberal Party and the Catholic Party. Reformist leaders of the Belgian Workers' Party, headed by Emile Vandervelde, conducted a policy of class cooperation. Under conditions of an upsurge in the working-class movement, the ruling circles carried out certain reforms. A programme for housing construction was adopted, pensions for war victims were introduced, and a new, more democratic electoral law was approved. An eight-hour working day was also introduced and emergency laws against strikes and trade unions were repealed. The postwar rise of the working-class movement was marked by the creation of a Communist Party (1920-1921) in Belgium. The party began to play an important role in the struggle for the interests of the Belgian working people.

In the fall of 1920, a slump in industrial production occurred in Belgium, an economic crisis began, the strike movement intensified, and contradictions between political parties sharpened. In January 1923, Belgium took part in the occupation of the Ruhr area of Germany. The failure of this venture complicated the situation in the country still further.

In the second half of the 1920s, a growth in the prestige of the Workers' Party was seen in the country. Following the elections of 1925, its representatives were included as members of a coalition government and remained so until 1927.

In 1930, Belgium showed signs of an economic crisis. During the years of crisis, the bourgeoisie launched an assault against the working class and democracy. Fascist organisations (the "rexists" and the Flemish National Alliance) appeared in the country. The fascist adventures were rebuffed by progressive workers' detachments.

At the end of the crisis, representatives of the Workers' Party once again entered a coalition government. In May 1938, a government headed by Socialist Paul-

Henri Spaak was formed in Belgium and remained in power for nearly a year. On the eve of the Second World War, the ruling circles of Belgium displayed extreme political short-sightedness and failed to prepare the country for resistance to fascist aggression.

*The Netherlands.* In the years of the First World War, the Netherlands maintained neutrality and conducted a profitable trade with the belligerent states. However, the broad working masses experienced no small hardships: there was a shortage of food, prices went up, and inflation increased. The working people put forward economic and political demands. In October 1918, disturbances occurred among the soldiers at one of the military bases. There were also mass rallies and other actions of solidarity with Soviet Russia. A left-wing group—the Tribunists—were highly active. Workers' councils and soldiers' unions sprang up in a number of cities. Leaders of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party demanded that power in the country be given over to the Social-Democrats. On November 13, 1918, a mass rally of workers, soldiers and sailors was held in Amsterdam. The demonstrators engaged in clashes with the police and troops. Five persons were killed and twenty wounded. In the following years major strikes were held. In April 1919, on the basis of the Social-Democratic Party (Tribunists), the Communist Party of the Netherlands was formed and then joined the Comintern.

In connection with the rise of the revolutionary movement, the ruling circles were forced to begin certain reforms. In 1919, the government put forward an initiative to introduce a 45-hour working week, to prohibit teenage labour (under the age of 14), and to grant women's suffrage (from 23 years of age). Disability and old-age pensions were increased and retirement age was lowered.

But already in the summer of 1920, the bourgeoisie moved over to an assault against the working class. Armed counter-revolutionary detachments appeared in the country. A law prohibiting revolutionary activity was passed and arrests of working-class activists began. With the onset of economic crisis in the fall of 1920, many of the gains made by the working class were eradicated. The length of the working week was again increased.

The partial stabilisation of capitalism in the Netherlands

was achieved to a great degree through the exploitation of oppressed peoples, above all the population of Indonesia. At the same time, the influence of foreign capital grew. The British-Dutch oil trust, Royal Dutch Shell, was playing an ever increasing role in the economics and politics of the country. The Bank of Paris and the Netherlands also grew in importance. Finances and the arms industry were penetrated by German capital. The strengthening of the bourgeoisie's economic position allowed it to slightly increase the pay of the upper strata of the working class.

In 1930, the Netherlands was hit by economic crisis, which considerably aggravated the social and political atmosphere in the country. The most important event of that period was the mutiny on the ships of the Dutch Navy in Indonesia (February 1933). The sailors' mutiny stirred up the entire country and was supported by solidarity strikes both in Indonesia and in the Netherlands. The unemployed also took an active part in the struggle. On July 4, 1934, they staged a large-scale protest demonstration in Amsterdam against the cutting of unemployment benefits. Unemployed workers in Rotterdam and other cities joined the protest movement. The government sent in police and troops with armoured cars and artillery against the unemployed. Barricade fighting began, which lasted for several days. Workers supported the unemployed by solidarity strikes.

In this setting, the most reactionary circles of the Dutch bourgeoisie began encouraging the fascist movement. The fascist party, called the National-Socialist Movement and headed by Anton Mussert, organised pogroms on the premises of the Communist Party and other progressive organisations. In response to this action, the Communists carried out a campaign for a united anti-fascist front. Democratic forces joined together the Union of Struggle Against Fascism, whose activities contributed to the failure of the Dutch reactionaries' plans for a rapprochement with German fascism.

*Switzerland.* Traditionally observing a strict neutrality, this country remained in a somewhat special situation. Profitable trade with the belligerent countries spurred the development of a number of branches of Swiss industry. But the high cost and shortages of food aroused the protest of the masses. The end of 1917 and beginning

of 1918 were marked by strikes, demonstrations and rallies of the working people and clashes with police and troops. In February 1918, left-wing forces in Olten created an action committee, which demanded that the government establish price control, introduce an eight-hour working day, increase workers' pay, and carry out a democratic reform of the electoral system. On November 9, 1918, at the call of the Olten Committee, the working people of nineteen cities walked out on a 24-hour general strike. On the following day in Zurich, police attacked a rally of workers, killing and wounding several people. In response to this, a national general strike was announced on the night of November 12. Some 300 to 400 thousand people participated. The entire economic life of the country was brought to a standstill. New clashes between workers and police broke out. Such a large scale of action frightened the leaders of the Olten Committee, who suggested that the workers end the strike on November 15. This strike was the largest class action in the history of the Swiss working-class movement. It forced the ruling circles of the country to make certain concessions.

Under conditions of an upsurge in the working-class movement, the left-wing Social Democrats came out for joining the Comintern. In March 1921, they founded the Communist Party of Switzerland, which became the vanguard of the struggle for working people's interests.

After the First World War, Switzerland began to play an important role in international affairs. It became the seat of many international organisations, including the League of Nations. Switzerland maintained a hostile policy in relation to the Soviet state and many white émigrés settled there. On May 10, 1923, they organised the murder of Soviet plenipotentiary V. V. Vorovsky. This triggered a conflict between the USSR and Switzerland which was not smoothed over until 1927.

In the period of capitalist stabilisation, the economic positions of Switzerland improved slightly. The living standard of the working people also rose. In connection with this, the idea of class cooperation began to take root in the working-class movement. At the end of the 1920s, Switzerland was hit by an economic crisis. This caused a change in the social and political atmosphere in the country in the 1930s. On the one hand, the class struggle no-

ticeably intensified. But on the other hand, the aggravation of social contradictions was used by the reactionaries to encourage the fascist movement. Such fascist organisations as the National Front, the National Alliance, and the Fascist Party of Switzerland appeared. The Communists and left-wing Social Democrats came out in a united front against fascism. In 1938, they rebuffed the fascists when the latter attempted to seize power in Zurich and Basel. In 1939, the Communist Party called for the prohibition of fascist organisations and the adoption of measures to prevent possible fascist aggression. However, the administration permitted fascist organisations and persecuted the Communists. On November 27, 1940, the Communist Party of Switzerland was outlawed. Switzerland was increasingly drawn into Germany's sphere of influence.

*Denmark.* As a result of the First World War, the economic situation in Denmark worsened and social contradictions sharpened. The working class of Denmark came out against the war and rose in struggle for their vital interests. On February 11, 1918, a spontaneous movement sprang up in Copenhagen. Demonstrations against speculation and high prices were conducted in a number of places. In Northern Slesvig (Schleswig), Councils of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies appeared. In the summer and fall of 1918, the strike movement gained strength in the country. Among other demands, the workers called for the introduction of an eight-hour working day. They also strove for additional pay to offset high prices. The leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark came forward with proposals of reform. Among other things, they suggested the establishment of control over banks and production and the introduction of universal suffrage. An important result of the rise in the working-class movement was the formation in 1919-1920 of the Communist Party of Denmark.

Under the pressure of the working-class movement, the Danish government carried out certain reforms. At the same time, it used nationalistic slogans to divert the working masses from the class struggle. With this aim, nationalist circles of the Danish bourgeoisie called for the annexation of all of Slesvig, although the population of its southern regions was predominantly German. King

Christian X was siding with the nationalists and reactionaries: on March 29, 1920, he sent the government of the radical Venstre Party into retirement.<sup>1</sup> This act became known as the "Easter coup d'état". In response to it, workers were about to begin a general strike, but the king rushed to make concessions.

The bourgeois parties demonstrated their inability to bring the country out of its economic difficulties, and the position of the Social-Democrats was strengthened due to their proposal of reforms. In April 1924, the first Social-Democratic government in the history of Denmark was formed. It was headed by Thorwald Stauning, leader of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark. The new government took measures to normalise finances and overcome economic difficulties. But the Social-Democrats failed to defend the interests of the workers when it came to collective agreements to be re-examined, so two-month general strike was staged in 1925. In 1926, the Social-Democrats handed over the reins of government to the Venstre Party, which represented the interests of landowners. This party ruled only until 1929, when it was replaced once again by the Social-Democrats, who remained in power for ten years.

During the economic crisis, the Social-Democrats increased state interference in the economy and put forward a programme for the regulation of foreign trade and state subsidisation of entrepreneurs. In 1933, the Social-Democratic government intervened in a conflict between workers and owners in order to prevent a lock-out and avoid strikes. It also made concessions to landowners. At the same time, the Social-Democrats carried out a number of reforms, especially in regard to social insurance.

After the fascists overtook power in Germany, a fascist movement began to develop in Denmark, especially in Slesvig where the German population lived. The working class, the Communist Party, and the Social-Democrats all came out against the threat of fascism. In 1934, Stauning's government passed a sedition act aimed against the activities of the fascist organisations. Under these conditions, the Communist Party gave its support to the Social-Democratic government.

<sup>1</sup> Venstre—Danish word for left-wing.

On the eve of the Second World War, Denmark's internal and foreign policies came under increasing pressure from German fascism. Nazi Germany was making claims to all of Slesvig, so that Denmark attempted to shield itself from this pressure: in May 1939, a non-aggression pact was signed by Denmark and Germany. But this did not save the country from German invasion.

**Sweden.** The neutrality of this country in the years of the First World War ensured superprofits for entrepreneurs. Industry developed rapidly and monopolies grew stronger. Sweden became an advanced agro-industrial country. At the end of the war, a coalition government of Liberals and Social-Democrats was formed, headed by N. Eden. But in the social sphere, things were far from calm in Sweden. The Left Social-Democratic Party became the organiser of the most militant and large-scale mass actions. Beginning in April 1917, the working people held mass demonstrations and wreaked havoc on bread stores. In November 1918, the Left Social-Democratic Party of Sweden demanded that an eight-hour working day be introduced in the country, that wages be increased, and that the example of Soviet Russia be followed. The government lowered the prices on food products. In addition, laws were passed on limiting the rights of King Gustav V, on an eight-hour working day, universal suffrage, shorter military service, and wage increases. This was a major achievement of the Swedish workers.

In 1920-1921, Sweden's economic situation deteriorated in the setting of the postwar economic crisis. A social-democratic government headed by Karl Hjalmar Branting, leader of the Social-Democratic Party of Sweden, first came to power in March 1920, but it lasted only a few months. Nevertheless, the right Social-Democrats became a leading political force and in November 1921 Branting's second government was formed, which, with a short interval, was in power until 1926. The right Social-Democrats put forward a thesis on the possibility of building a special kind of "northern socialism" in Sweden. In that period, a noticeable growth in industrial production took place, the position of monopoly capitalism was further consolidated, and the workers' living standard rose slightly. As a result, the strike movement dwindled. Work-

ers spoke out mainly for the re-examination of tariff agreements. On May 22, 1928, they conducted a three-hour general strike against a law on mandatory arbitration. But on the whole, the conditions of the partial stabilisation of capitalism favoured the spreading of reformism among workers' organisations. There was no unity within the Communist Party, which undermined its prestige and its ability to wage a class struggle.

The economic crisis at the beginning of the 1930s revealed the complete untenability of reformist theories on the "exclusiveness" of Swedish capitalism. The failure of the powerful Kreuger match concern had especially negative consequences. Fifty per cent of the country's working class were out of job. The Swedish working people joined in a stubborn struggle for their economic and political interests. Strikes took on a militant character. In 1931, the workers of the Odalen district held a major strike which ended in a clash with troop detachments. Five of the strikers were killed.

In the years of the crisis, the Swiss bourgeoisie began to encourage reactionary militaristic forces and launched an anti-Soviet campaign. Reactionaries demanded that the Communist Party be prohibited and created a right-wing front with fighting squads not unlike fascist organisations. But the fascist movement did not become widespread. The bourgeois class decided once more to avail itself of the services of the right Social-Democrats, who were again at the head of the government as of September 1932. The Social-Democratic government of Per Albin Hansson carried out a number of measures to improve the country's economic situation. Public works were provided for the unemployed, subsidies were allocated to farmers, and prices were raised on agricultural products in their interests. However, entrepreneurs strove to lower the wages of the working people, which led to a new wave of strikes (including a strike by seamen in 1933).

In the mid-1930s, Sweden's economy entered a period of recovery. This was furthered by the acceleration of arms build-up begun by Nazi Germany and its allies. Sweden noticeably expanded its business ties with these states. But it did seek any further rapprochement with the aggressors. The Swedish Government condemned Italy's seizure of Ethiopia. On the eve of the Second World War,

Sweden declared its neutrality and non-alignment with any bloc. The working class, first and foremost the Communist Party, came out against the acts of fascist aggression. The Communist Party proposed the tactics of a united anti-fascist front. The Swedish working people organised a campaign of solidarity with the Spanish Republic, and strove for their country's participation in the creation of a system of collective security in Europe.

*Norway.* The struggle for political power between the bourgeois parties and the Social-Democrats also increased in Norway. Norway was an agrarian country with a predominance of small-scale landowners, and with developed fishing and forestry. It maintained neutrality in the years of the First World War. Profits from trade with the belligerent states made possible an acceleration in capitalist development and the appearance of monopolies in the country. The government of the Liberal Party Venstre, headed by Gunnar Knudsen, was in power from 1913 through 1920. It was unable to hold back a rise in high prices and thus, already at the end of the war, there began in Norway a working-class movement against high prices for staple foods. With these demands, workers conducted the first general strike in the history of the country of July 6, 1917.

The progressive forces of the Norwegian population welcomed the October Revolution and came out against anti-Soviet intervention. In 1918, the working people in a number of cities began to create their own Soviets (councils) of workers' and soldiers' deputies. Mass rallies took place in the major cities and at factories strikes were held, in the course of which workers sought to establish the eight-hour working day. In July 1919, the Workers' Party of Norway, in which the left forces increased, called for a socialist revolution, for a dictatorship of the proletariat and the joining of the Comintern. As a result of the rise of the mass working-class movement, the working people of Norway achieved the adoption of a law on the eight-hour working day and other economic concessions on the part of the bourgeoisie.

In 1920-1922, the country was gripped by economic crisis, which told heavily on the material position of the working people. The working class in these years conducted a number of stubborn strikes, but the crisis con-

ditions kept it from achieving any improvements in its situation. A sharp conflict developed within the Workers' Party. In November 1923, a majority of the Party's members approved a resolution on the party's withdrawal from the Comintern. The minority organised the Communist Party of Norway. The split in the working-class movement weakened the class struggle of the Norwegian proletariat.

The stabilisation of capitalism in Norway was shaky at best. Although it did lead to a growth in industrial production, a state of crisis besieged agriculture and fishing. Company owners widely resorted to lockouts and the administration introduced exceptional laws and mandatory arbitration in order to bring down the fever pitch of the working people's class actions. The Conservative government (1926-1928) pushed through the adoption of a law on prison sentences for instigating to strike as well as a law defending strikebreakers.

In 1927, the Workers' Party and the Social-Democratic Party of Norway joined together on a reformist basis to create the United Workers' Party. This allowed the new party to increase its influence at the ballot-box. In January 1928, the first "workers' government" in Norway was formed. However, it only lasted for some three weeks.

The economic crisis which began in Norway in the fall of 1930 considerably intensified the class situation in the country. As early as March 1931, company owners announced a general lockout in order to lower workers' pay, which they succeeded in doing. At this time, fascist and semi-fascist organisations stepped up their activities. A fascist party appeared in 1931, with Vidkun Quisling becoming its leader. However, the democratic traditions of the Norwegian people precluded the growth of fascism's influence.

In the first half of 1935, Norway began to pull out of its economic crisis. About that time, the influence of the Norwegian Workers' Party increased among voters. In March 1935, a government was formed by Johan Nygaardsvold, representative of the Workers' Party. At this point, the Communist Party advanced the idea of unity with the Workers' Party in the interests of fighting against the threat of fascism and the danger of a new world war. On July 8, 1937, the two parties began talks on organ-

ised unity. However, the talks were soon broken off by the representatives of the Workers' Party.

At the end of 1937, signs of a new economic crisis began to appear in Norway. Its international situation also grew worse at this time. The threat of aggression on the part of Nazi Germany hung over the country. But the government of Norway followed a policy of "non-interference" and rejected Soviet proposals on the organisation of collective resistance to the aggressor. As a result, Norway ended up being, at the fault of its ruling circles, unarmed and unprepared to repel the German fascist aggression.

*Finland.* A distinct originality marked the course of events in this country, which until 1917 was a part of the Russian state, enjoying great autonomy. Finnish workers fought together with the Russian proletariat against tsarism, landowners and capitalists. Following the February Revolution in Russia, the Finnish working class won the establishment of the eight-hour working day, raises in pay, and restrictions on speculation. In the spring and summer of 1917, revolutionary councils sprang up in Finland and Red Army detachments were formed. On November 13, 1917, the workers of Finland began a general strike, during the course of which workers' organs of power were set up in some places.

The Finnish bourgeoisie, with the support of the Social-Democrats, strove to prevent the development of a revolution in Finland. In the spring of 1917, it launched an anti-Russian propaganda campaign and began forming armed detachments—the "Schützkorps"—to fight against the working class. On November 26, 1917, the bourgeois government of Pehr Evind Svinhufvud was formed in Finland. Svinhufvud's government called for the immediate separation of Finland from Russia. On December 6, 1917, the Finnish Sejm (parliament) adopted a declaration announcing Finland as an independent state. A Finnish delegation headed by Svinhufvud was sent to Soviet Russia and met with V. I. Lenin. By an act signed on December 31, 1917, the Soviet state granted independence to the Republic of Finland. Thus a new page was opened in the history of Finland.

The Finnish bourgeoisie used the country's achievement of independence to step up the fight against the rev-

olutionary movement. In January 1918, clashes between the Finnish Red Guard and reactionary detachments began. On January 22, 1918, a working-class revolution broke out in Finland. Soon a government of workers was formed—the Council of People's Authorised Representatives, whose members included Yrjö Sirola, Otto Kuusinen and others. Red Guard detachments captured the capital of Finland—Helsingfors. In a short period of time, the revolution was victorious in the southern, industrial regions of the country. But the workers' republic in Finland lasted for only three months. German interventionists came to the aid of Finland's reactionaries. By the beginning of May 1918, the revolution in Finland was suppressed. A white terror began in the country. The experience of the revolution demonstrated the necessity of creating a Communist Party of Finland, the founding of which was indeed proclaimed at a congress held in August 1918. The Party was forced to operate in trying conditions underground. At the beginning of May 1920, left-wing workers were able to create a legal revolutionary organisation—the Socialist Workers' Party of Finland. The Workers' Party joined the Comintern.

The formation of political life in bourgeois Finland was determined after Germany suffered defeat in the First World War and withdrew its troops from Finland. On June 23, 1919, a Constitution was adopted, which declared a republican order in Finland. Kaarlo Stahlberg, a prominent figure in the Progressive Party, was elected president of the republic in July 1919. Under Stahlberg, relations with the Soviet state were filled with conflict. White Finnish troops more than once invaded Soviet territory. Only on October 14, 1920, was a peace treaty concluded between the two countries. But border disputes continued.

Within the country, the ruling circles of Finland followed a reactionary course. They strove to impose Finnish culture and customs on all national minorities. In 1923, the Socialist Workers' Party was routed and later, in 1925, it was outlawed. In the period of capitalist stabilisation, foreign capital rushed into the country. The political atmosphere was marked by instability. Governments were replaced one after another. In December 1926, the government was headed by right-wing leader of the Social-

Democrats Väinö Tanner, who held this post for one year. Tanner's government tried to achieve "class peace" in Finland. But it failed to do so, as was evidenced, for example, by the six-month strike of 10,000 metal-workers in 1927.

At the end of 1928, Finland was hit by an economic crisis which strongly affected all sectors of the economy. Long and stubborn strikes by workers began. Conditions developed towards a revolutionary situation. In response, the bourgeoisie began to encourage the creation of fascist organisations. In 1929, a movement called the Lapuan movement (named after the small town of Lapua) arose in the country. In March 1930, the Lapuans organised pogroms against workers' organisations. The Lapuan movement demanded that the administration follow a pro-fascist policy. On July 7, 1930, the Lapuans began a march on Helsinki. The anti-Soviet campaign in the country was sharply stepped up. Calls were sounded for the seizure of territory up to the Urals and even to the Yenisei River. Armed provocations on the Finnish-Soviet border were resumed once again. On February 27, 1932, the Lapuans attempted to pull off a military fascist coup. But the Finnish bourgeoisie did not believe it was necessary to resort to the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in the country. And thus, the conspirators were arrested and the Lapuan movement petered out.

As of 1932, Finland began to move out of economic crisis and into a period marked by a favourable economic state of affairs. Finland turned towards improving its relations with the USSR. In January 1932, a non-aggression treaty was signed between the two countries. Finland then joined the Convention on the Definition of Aggression. But the government's internal policy remained anti-working-class. In 1934, an anti-communist trial was held in the country. Leader of the Communist Party of Finland Toivo Antikainen was sentenced to life imprisonment. The sentence was later changed to eight years of hard labour.

In the second half of the 1930s, Finland began an increasing rapprochement with Nazi Germany. Such a policy on its part naturally alarmed the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government took the lead in trying to normalise relations with Finland. In February 1937, Soviet-

Finnish negotiations were held in Moscow. In subsequent years, the USSR came out with new initiatives on strengthening security on the Soviet-Finnish border. But Finland rejected cooperation with the USSR. Ideological preparation for a war against the USSR began to increase in the country. A slogan was put forward calling for the creation of a "Great Finland" which would extend as far as the Urals. This led the country on a disastrous path of war.

*Ireland.* Ireland's position was special. Until the First World War it was a British colony. It was a backward agrarian country with the majority of the population being peasants with little or no land of their own. A considerable portion of the land belonged to Englishmen. Industry was not greatly developed.

Over the course of many years, the Irish people waged a battle against colonial oppression. Broad sectors of the population took part in the struggle: the working class, the peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie, and the intelligentsia. Of great influence in the anti-British movement was the Catholic Church, to which the majority of the Irish belonged. Only in the northeast of the country, in Ulster, was the Protestant religion widespread, as it was in Britain. The Protestant upper circles of Ulster were against unification with the rest of Catholic Ireland, a factor which divided the national liberation movement.

The revolutionary events in Russia, especially the October Revolution, lent new incentive to the struggle of the Irish people. In 1918-1923, a national liberation revolution, bourgeois democratic in character, began to spread in Ireland. One of the causes that set it off was the attempt of the British Government to extend compulsory military service to Ireland. The national forces of Ireland strongly protested this. Committees against compulsory military service were created everywhere. On April 23, 1918, a general strike was conducted to protest the law. The administration was forced to defer introduction of the law.

But the anti-British movement continued to grow. Elected to the British parliament in December 1918, members of the Sinn Fein Party, which was created in Ireland back in 1905, gathered in Dublin, organised

a national assembly, and formed a government headed by Eamon de Valera, who had participated in the revolt of 1916. In January 1919, this national assembly proclaimed the independence of Ireland and demanded the withdrawal of British troops from the country. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) was created and organs of national state power were set up.

Britain outlawed the national assembly in Ireland and began military operations against the republicans. Hostilities continued until the summer of 1921. In June 1921, the British agreed to negotiate with representatives of the Irish republic. In December of the same year, an agreement was signed granting Ireland the rights of a dominion. The north-eastern part of Ireland (Ulster) remained as an autonomous part of Great Britain.

The upper circles of the Irish bourgeoisie were, in the main, satisfied with this outcome. However, the working masses and the left-wing members of the Sinn Fein Party disapproved of the agreement and continued to struggle for the full independence of all Ireland. From the summer of 1922 until the spring of 1923, a civil war was fought in the country. Those supporting full independence were unable to achieve a victory. They ceased openly waging an armed struggle and went underground.

A regime of British dominion was consolidated in Ireland, which had limited jurisdiction over internal affairs and even less in foreign affairs. On October 25, 1922, the Constitution of the Irish Free State was adopted, which introduced universal suffrage for men and women 21 years of age. A British governor-general stood over the Irish Parliament. In 1924, the borders of Ireland were defined.

The country's economic development moved slowly; dependence on British capital was telling. In political life, the formation of Irish parties and organisations was in progress. In 1924, the Irish Workers' League appeared and joined the Comintern. In 1926, the left-wing forces of the Sinn Fein Party used their base to found the political party Fianna Fail ("Soldiers of Fortune"), headed by De Valera. The Fianna Fail Party agitated for the full independence and unification of Ireland. In 1932, it sustained a victory in elections.

De Valera headed the government and remained in this post until 1948. Under this government, British-Irish relations became more acute. From 1932 to 1938 a "customs war" went on between Ireland and Britain. De Valera's government promoted the development of national industry and implemented a number of measures in the interests of workers and farmers.

The pro-British bourgeoisie and the landowners, as well as large-scale farmers, were displeased with the steps taken by the De Valera government. In 1933, they organised the Party of a United Ireland, which was later renamed the Fine Gael. At the end of 1931, a fascist movement (the "Blue Shirts") also appeared in Ireland. But in the summer of 1934, the activity of fascists was prohibited. In 1933, revolutionary groups joined together to form the Communist Party of Ireland. The Communists came out in favour of a united Irish republic.

De Valera's government conducted a course toward a gradual strengthening of the country's sovereignty. In 1937, a new Constitution was adopted, which declared Ireland the "sovereign state of Eire". Ireland began a much more active foreign policy. It established diplomatic relations with many states of Europe, Asia and America and actively participated in the League of Nations. At the same time, Ireland showed an inconsistency in foreign affairs. It held to a position of neutrality in relation to the struggle conducted by many countries and peoples against the fascist states.

## Chapter 4

### THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

#### 1. The United States of America

*The economic and political position of the USA following the First World War.* The USA entered the First World War when it was already coming to an end—in April 1917, and American troops appeared in Europe only in June-July of 1918. Living far away from the field of operations, the majority of the American population had little understanding of the tragedies of the war. No destruction was wrought upon the territory of the U.S. During all the years of the war, American imperialists amassed enormous capital from war-time deliveries. They received more than 35 billion dollars in profits. The foreign capital investments of the U.S. reached a level six times greater than that of pre-war times. As a result, the United States changed from being a debtor to a major creditor. The countries of Europe owed the U.S. more than ten billion dollars. After the war, nearly 50 per cent of the world's gold reserves were concentrated in the U.S. The United States became a centre of world financial exploitation, a major capitalist country.

In the years of the war, a strong growth of industrial production occurred in the USA. Between 1914 and 1920, the national wealth of the U.S. rose by 2.5 times. The development of industry was characterised by an increase in the concentration of its branches in the hands of a small number of monopoly groups. In 1919, the major U.S. monopolies, consisting of approximately 5 per cent of the country's enterprises, concentrated up to 55 per cent of all workers and produced up to 60 per cent of all industrial output.

The material position of the working people in the

years of the war remained difficult. The working class and poor farmers felt the burden of ever increasing taxes and rising prices on consumer goods. During the war, some 900,000 U.S. working people did not have jobs. After the war ended, unemployment grew.

Big monopoly capital wholly subjected the government's internal and foreign policy to its own interests. Woodrow Wilson, a representative of the Democratic Party, served as President of the United States from 1912 to 1920. Within the country, his administration conducted a policy of intense exploitation of the working class and farmers, racial discrimination in relation to Blacks and other "coloured" peoples of the country, and harsh suppression of the working-class and democratic movement. High protective tariffs were set and a build-up of arms was in progress.

In the sphere of foreign policy, the U.S. followed an expansionist course, especially in Latin America and the Far East. The U.S. came forward as an organiser and active participant in the armed intervention against the Soviet state.

On the whole, the ruling circles of the U.S. directed a course toward establishing world hegemony. This was clearly manifested in their programme for postwar arrangements, known as Wilson's Fourteen Points (January 1918). At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, the U.S. attempted to realise its hegemonic plan, hoping to use to these ends the League of Nations, the creation of which was another idea advanced by Wilson. But at that time, these plans fell flat. It was precisely for this reason that the U.S. did not sign the Versailles Treaty and did not enter the League of Nations.

*Rise of the working-class movement in the postwar years. Formation of the Communist Party USA.* The aggravation of class contradictions and the influence of the October Revolution promoted the rise of a mass working-class and democratic movement in the USA. Left Socialists and progressive U.S. activists (John Reed, Albert Rhys Williams, and others) worked in the U.S. to spread the ideas of the Great October. The state of affairs in Russia was heatedly discussed and approved of at crowded meetings held around the country. Lenin's "Letter to American Workers" was met with great

interest. The protest movement against anti-Soviet intervention reached considerable proportions. Organisations like the League of Friends of Soviet Russia, the Truth on Russia League, and others sprang up everywhere. They gathered signatures on petitions and organised events calling for an end to the anti-Soviet intervention. A campaign to send volunteers to the Red Army was launched in the country. American soldiers spoke out against being dispatched to take part in the intervention in Soviet Russia. The demonstrations of the American working people were a contributing factor to the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Soviet state.

Along with this, the country's working masses carried on a struggle for the improvement of working conditions and for civil rights. The strike movement gained considerable momentum, especially in 1919. That year saw the participation of 4.1 million workers. The dock workers in New York Harbour went out on strike, fighting for the establishment of an eight-hour working day. In February 1919, a general strike which began in Seattle made a great impression on the whole country. Another of the major strikes in 1919 was that of 370,000 steel-workers. It was led by William Z. Foster, an outstanding activist in the American working-class movement. Right after this, the largest strike in the U.S. began when 600,000 miners walked out. In all, there were 3,577 strikes held in the U.S. in 1919. Despite the defeat of the most major strikes, workers in a number of branches of industry won higher pay and better working conditions as a result of the strike movement.

Owing to the upsurge of the working-class movement, the left wing within the Socialist Party grew. The prominent leaders of the left Socialists were Charles Ruthenberg and John Reed. The left Socialists published their own newspapers and magazines, through which the ideas of Marxism-Leninism were spread to the masses. They sought to change the Socialist Party over to a revolutionary position and have it join the Comintern. However, there was ideological division within the left wing itself. Some of the left wing, headed by John Reed, thought they should continue the struggle within the Socialist Party and strive to transform it into a revolutionary organisation. Others, led by Ruthenberg, believed it was

necessary to withdraw from the Socialist Party and create an independent communist party. On August 30, 1919, an extraordinary conference of the Socialist Party was opened in Chicago. That very day, with the help of police, the left Socialists were thrown out of the conference's meeting hall. On August 31, 1919, the left Socialists supporting John Reed formed the Communist Labor Party of America (10,000 members) and on September 1, 1919, the left group headed by Ruthenberg created the Communist Party of America (approx. 58,000). The objective set forth by both parties was to struggle for the winning of power and the establishment of a dictatorship of the working class. But neither of the communist parties made a proper assessment of the situation in the country and both suffered from sectarianism and ultra-leftism (refusal to carry out joint actions with the Socialist Party; the creation of new, revolutionary trade unions, etc.).

The communist parties were formed right at a time when reactionary forces had already begun an assault. In 1920, the parties were outlawed and forced to move underground. In May 1921, on the recommendation of the Comintern, they united into one party—the Communist Party USA. In December 1921, on the initiative of the Communist Party, a legal Labor Party upholding Marxist-Leninist principles was organised. When the situation in the U.S. changed in April 1923, the Communist Party and the Labor Party combined to form a single party—the Workers' (Communist) Party of the USA, with a membership of 25,000. The emergence of the Communist Party was the most important result of the upsurge of the working-class movement in the USA.

*The economic crisis of 1920-1921. Capital's assault on the working class.* The upsurge of the working-class movement aroused serious concern among the ruling circles of the USA. Under pressure from the reactionaries, Wilson's government turned to the use of repressions. Numerous trials began in the country. Persons suspected of revolutionary activities were expelled from the U.S.

In January 1920, American police carried out raids against "reds" in 70 different cities, resulting in the arrests of nearly 10,000 people. At the same time, an

"inquisition" was begun in New York by the Checkup on the Loyalty Commission. Racist organisations significantly stepped up their activities. The Ku Klux Klan organised pogroms in the Black neighbourhoods of St. Louis, Chicago, Washington D. C., Knoxville, Omaha, and other cities. In the period between 1917 and 1939, there were 679 lynchings in the U.S. In 1919, the American Legion appeared, a paramilitary reactionary organisation.

In 1920, the USA found itself in an economic crisis, as a result of which industrial production by March 1921 had fallen by one third. The number of unemployed in the country reached 5 to 6 million people. Workers' pay dropped by 20 per cent. The crisis in industry became interwoven with a crisis in agriculture. The position of farmers sharply deteriorated. One tenth of all farms were lost by forced sales.

Changes took place in the political life of the country. In the presidential elections of 1920, the Republicans sustained a victory. Warren Gamaliel Harding, a reactionary statesman, was elected President, with Calvin Coolidge as Vice-President. The new government carried out a number of measures in the interests of big business; it repealed the law on taxing superprofits and put an end to price control. As a result, major monopolies received additional profits.

On the international arena, Harding promoted the spreading of American expansionism in Latin America and the Far East. At the Washington Conference (1921-1922) the U.S. made an attempt to agree with other imperialist powers on the division of China and the regulation of naval power. As before, they conducted a hostile policy in relation to the Soviet state. In 1921, when Soviet Russia was gripped with famine, the U.S. sent the American Relief Administration (ARA) there, headed by Herbert Hoover. The ARA was quite often used for purposes hostile to the Soviet state. The U.S. Government made a considerable effort to disrupt both the Genoa Conference and the Hague Conference and turn them into anti-Soviet forums.

The American public protested against such a policy. Progressive people of the U.S. showed great initiative in rendering aid to Soviet Russia to have its economy

restored. Qualified specialists and several teams of American workers travelled to Soviet Russia to assist in organising industrial enterprises and in setting up model farms in the countryside. That was a genuine display of the solidarity of American workers with the Soviet working people.

*The USA in the years of the partial stabilisation of capitalism.* In the years of stabilisation, which began in the U.S. in 1922, considerable growth of the American economy took place. This was promoted by the large demand of war-torn Europe for goods from the U.S. In the United States, the production of steel and iron increased and oil output went up. The automobile industry developed at a fast pace, as did aircraft construction, radio, the film industry, and several other sectors. On the whole, the volume of industrial production grew by 20 per cent between 1923 and 1929. The U.S. was producing 44 per cent of the industrial output of the capitalist world. In that period, American capitalists renewed fixed capital, introduced into production the most up-to-date equipment, and carried out the streamlining, specialisation and standardisation of production. At the same time, the process of concentration and centralisation of production and capital was intensely developed. By 1929, the major monopolies incorporated almost half of the country's industrial enterprises, which employed 90 per cent of all workers and produced 92 per cent of all industrial output.

The foreign economic expansion of American imperialism increased considerably. Between 1920 and 1931, the export of U.S. capital amounted to 11.6 billion dollars. The bulk of capital went into Europe and a great deal to Latin America as well. The export of American goods also increased.

The stabilisation of capitalism in the USA was reached at the expense of the intensification of labour of the American workers and the plunder of the peoples of other countries. President Harding's government promoted the enrichment of the major monopolistic associations. Oil magnates used bribery to buy up state lands rich in oil. The affair stirred up vast political scandals leading to legal proceedings. In 1923, President Harding died. Stepping into the highest state office of the USA was Vice-President Calvin Coolidge.

In 1924, the presidential election campaign began in the country. In the course of the campaign, a broad movement in favour of creating a third party sprang up. Nominated as presidential candidate from the third party was liberal Senator Robert La Follette, who proposed a programme of democratic reforms (democratisation of the state apparatus, repeal of anti-strike regulations, low credit rates for farmers, higher taxes on big business, etc.). The emergence of the third party movement testified to the crisis of the two-party system in the USA. At the elections, La Follette won 4.8 million votes. However, victory was sustained by Republican Party candidate Calvin Coolidge.

His government followed a policy of lowering taxes on big business, granted large subsidies to monopolies, allocated huge sums to the build-up of naval armaments, and continued a foreign policy course of expansionism.

In the period of capitalist stabilisation a lull in the working-class movement took place. Workers' pay increased slightly. The leaders of the reformist trade unions came out strongly in favour of class collaboration. Back in 1919, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) had come out with the Plumb Plan, which provided for the participation of workers in the "management" of the railways. The Trade Union Educational League, created on the initiative of the Left in 1920, was unable to stand up against the reformist tactics of the trade union bosses. In 1923, the latter worked out the agreement, in accordance with which the workers of the Baltimore-Ohio Railroad agreed not to strike and to raise labour productivity, while the owners promised to raise the workers' pay. The Baltimore-Ohio agreement became a typical example of the AFL's tactics. Due to this, the strike movement in the country dwindled.

The true fighters for working-class interests remained the Communists, who actively came out in defence of the economic interests and democratic rights of the American people. Under the leadership of the Communists, a strike of 16,000 textile workers was successfully carried out in Passaic in 1926. During the coalminers' strikes in Pennsylvania and Ohio in 1927, the Communists created the National Committee for Aid to the Strikers. When

the protest movement in defence of the falsely convicted workers Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti began, the Communists called for a general strike. But the leaders of the AFL and the Socialist Party refused to come out in active defence of the two workers. The strike which the Communists carried out all the same drew the participation of only several thousand people. Despite world-wide protests, Sacco and Vanzetti were executed in 1927.

The conditions of stabilisation were conducive to the activisation of opportunist elements within the communist movement. Anti-party groups and factions were revealed within the Communist Party at this time. Thus, the opportunist James Cannon and his supporters came forward in 1928 with a Trotskyite platform. They rejected the tactics of a united front and called for withdrawal from the trade unions. The leaders of another group, Jay Lovestone and John Pepper, came out with the opportunist theory of the "exclusiveness of the USA". They denied that the general laws of capitalist development applied to the USA and declared that a mitigation of class contradictions was taking place in the country. Both faction groups were expelled from the Party.

In the period of stabilisation, American imperialism conducted an expansionist foreign policy and succeeded in capturing new markets of raw materials and new spheres of capital investment. The USA played a large part in restoring the military and economic potential of Germany. Between 1924 and 1929, the USA and Great Britain (mainly the USA) granted a total of almost 21 billion marks in credits to Germany. In doing so, the U.S. monopolies sought to gain a hold over the German economy.

The USA also sought to expand its influence in the Far East, mainly in China, and it came out jointly with other imperialist powers against the Chinese revolution. On March 24, 1927, U.S. and British warships mercilessly shelled the city of Nanking (Nanjing), which had been entered by detachments of the people's revolutionary army of China. In April 1927, international imperialism, especially the USA, helped Chinese reactionary forces headed by Chiang Kai-shek carry out a counter-revolu-

tionary coup. With the coming of Chiang Kai-shek to power, US influence in China became dominant.

In Latin America, the USA crowded out its competitors, above all Britain, made large capital investments and received enormous profits. Towards the beginning of the 1930's, American capital invested in Latin America amounted to 5.7 billion dollars. The USA supported its penetration of Latin America with armed force. The government of Coolidge used troops to consolidate the influence of the American dollar in Honduras, Nicaragua, Cuba, Haiti, San Domingo (Dominican Republic), and Panama. It also followed an anti-Soviet policy and was opposed to any advancement of disarmament.

The period of partial stabilisation of capitalism did not eliminate the inner contradictions inherent in capitalism. By the end of the period of stabilisation, the USA found itself faced with enormous economic and social difficulties.

*The USA in the years of world economic crisis.* In 1928, the next presidential elections were held in the USA. The Republican Party nominated Herbert Hoover as its candidate, a representative of big business, who did in fact win the elections. Hoover came forward with a programme to "eliminate poverty". However, his presidency coincided with the most disastrous world economic crisis in history, which hit the USA especially hard.

In the fall of 1929, the price of shares on the New York stock exchange dropped rapidly. Panic sales of shares began. Right after this, plants and factories began to close down and mass unemployment appeared. The economic life of the country was thrown into disorder. The distinctive feature of the crisis in the USA was its enormous destructive character. The price of shares fell from 216 points in September 1929 to 34 points in 1932. In the four years of the crisis, 5,761 banks holding a total of five billion dollars in deposits were "busted". In the spring of 1933, all the banks in the United States were closed. The crisis spread through industry, trade, and agriculture, hitting the entire economy. Industrial production fell by 46 per cent, lowering it to the level of 1905-1906. The national income fell by two times and the volume of foreign trade was cut three times.

Hoover's government tried to take measures to fight against the crisis and proposed putting 8 billion dollars into capital construction. The monopoly owners of industries and railroads decided to invest 3 billion dollars in their enterprises. The National Credit Corporation was created, which was later transformed into the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The Federal Farmers Bureau was also created, and import tariffs on foreign goods were raised. But it was impossible to stem the tide of the economic crisis.

The crisis told heavily on the material position of the working class, farmers, the urban middle-class, and the intelligentsia. By the beginning of 1933, the army of unemployed had reached 17 million. The pay of working people was cut by 60 per cent. In the years of the crisis, more than one million farms were brought to ruin. The government took no measures to alleviate the position of the working masses. Moreover, it prohibited strikes and resorted to repressions in order to squelch the working-class movement.

The crisis, however, causing sharp aggravation of social contradictions, created a basis for the activation of the class struggle. It resulted in the working class moving more to the left and in the undermining of reformism's influence. At the same time, the strike movement in the years of the crisis bore a predominantly defensive character. It was the unemployment movement which gained greater scope, and "hunger marches" were organised. An important role in this was played by the National Conference of the Unemployed held in July 1930. The conference worked out a programme of struggle for rendering aid to the unemployed and for introducing social insurance. It also created the National Unemployed Council to organise and guide the movement. In 1931 and 1932, national "hunger marches" were held. The Communist Party sought to create a united front of unemployed to rebuff the attack of capital. However, reformists did not want to work in cooperation with the Communist Party.

The farmers' movement was also quite considerable. The United Farmers' League called for mass rallies to be conducted and for the creation of action committees against the forced auctioning off of farmers' mortgaged

properties. There was some success in these actions. In addition, on an appeal from the National Farmers' Union, farmers held their own kind of strikes. Striving to raise prices on their produce, they refused to sell agricultural products and boycotted manufactured goods. The Communists worked actively in the farmers' movement and created a Sharecroppers' Union.

The American authorities severely persecuted activists from the working-class and farmers' movements. They suppressed the demonstrations of the working people and increased racial persecution. In March 1931, legal proceedings were organised in Scottsborough against nine Black men, who were condemned to death on trumped up charges. Only as a result of a mass protest campaign was the sentence reversed. Racist organisations stepped up their activities, as did American fascists. In 1934, the latter even prepared for a fascist coup in the country. But their influence was negligible.

The crisis years were one of the most dramatic periods in US history. It was precisely in this period (1931) that the author Theodore Dreiser published a work of his under the symbolic title *An American Tragedy*.

*Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.* At the height of the crisis, in November 1932, the presidential election came around once again. The Republican Party's candidate Herbert Hoover, proposing a programme to get the country out of crisis, did not receive the support of the majority of voters as they had already lost faith in him. Victory at the election was sustained by the Democratic candidate Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who came forward with a programme known as the New Deal. He promised work for the unemployed, higher prices on agricultural products, and financial assistance for farmers.

Roosevelt sought with the help of reforms to pull the United States out of the crisis and strengthen the position of capitalism. Upon taking office as President, he immediately got the Congress to pass 70 legislative acts aimed at a "recovery" in industry, agriculture, trade, and the credit and monetary system. In June 1933, a law on the recovery of national industry was adopted, in accordance with which the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) was created. It began to carry out the

forced formation of cartels on the basis of "codes of fair dealing". In American industry, divided into 17 groups, monopoly prices were established, conditions on trade credits and volume of production were defined, and the markets were regulated. It was prohibited to sell goods at lower than established prices. This helped keep monopoly prices at a high level and significantly increase the capitalists' profits.

In accordance with the law, minimum wage was established as well as maximum length of the working day, the conclusion of collective agreements and the rendering of aid to the unemployed was provided for, and the right to form trade union was confirmed. Roosevelt founded the Public Works Administration, which created jobs of one kind or another for the unemployed. Youth Corps Camps were also set up for unemployed youth, which provided jobs on public works projects for low wages. Between 1933 and 1937, approximately twelve billion dollars were allocated for public works projects.

In order to pull agriculture out of the crisis, a law on aid to farmers was adopted in May 1933 and the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) was created. This organ "regulated" prices on agricultural products and determined the amounts to be produced. Farmers were encouraged to reduce the volume of cultivated lands. As a result of this policy, millions of acres planted in cotton and wheat were plowed under, millions of heads of cattle were destroyed, and vast stores of grain were burned. This was done at a time when there were millions of unemployed in the country who were starving and had no means of subsistence. In 1933, the Farm Credit Administration was also set up, which by the beginning of 1935 had given out a total of 2 billion dollars in credit, mainly to big farmers. The measures taken by Roosevelt's government in this sphere promoted the concentration of agriculture and led to the ruination of small farmers.

Roosevelt's New Deal policy helped the country pull out of the crisis and broadened and consolidated the position of state-monopoly capitalism. At the same time, the beginning of Roosevelt's actions coincided with the conclusion of the world economic crisis. Therefore, the

New Deal had no set value as an anti-crisis means. Once the peak of the crisis had passed and economic revival had begun, the major U.S. monopolies came out against Roosevelt's New Deal. In 1935 and 1936, at the demand of the monopolies, the U.S. Supreme Court repealed the laws on the NIRA and the AAA.

Roosevelt devoted a great deal of attention to smoothing relations between the working class and the capitalists. With this aim in mind, the National Labor Bureau was created, which concerned itself not so much with the well-being of workers but with the prevention of strikes. The government launched major public works projects such as the construction of highways, bridges, etc. All of this led to some reduction in the number of unemployed. However, the position of workers, as before, remained difficult and the strike movement continued. In 1934, a general strike in San Francisco took place, headed by Harry Bridges. Although the strike was put down, the authorities and company owners met the basic demands of the workers and recognised the Longshoremen's Union. Between 1934 and 1935, sixteen thousand strikes occurred in the USA, with over 7 million people participating. Developing alongside the strike movement were the farmers' movement and a general democratic movement.

Roosevelt's administration was forced to begin meeting a number of the demands of the working class (wage increases, paid vacations, higher pay for overtime). In July 1935, the Wagner Law (the National Labor Relations Acts) was adopted, which prohibited persecution of workers for forming trade unions and participating in strikes. Company owners were obligated to recognise labour union organisations and to conclude collective agreements with them. It was prohibited to form "company" unions. In August 1935, the U.S. Congress passed a law on social security, which introduced pensions for workers over age 65 and benefits for the unemployed, the disabled, orphans and widows. All of this represented a substantial achievement by the working class.

The Communist Party USA, while on the whole correctly defining the bourgeois essence of the New Deal, gave support to the progressive measures taken

by Roosevelt. The Communists were very active in creating a united front. They held anti-war and anti-fascist conventions and in 1933 created the American League of Struggle Against War and Fascism.

The Communist Party furthered the growth of the left wing in the working-class movement. Both within and outside of the AFL, the left wing carried on a struggle for the creation of industrial labour unions. They were successful in creating eight such labour unions, which united at the end of 1935 to form the Committee of Industrial Organizations (within the AFL). The Committee began an active campaign to draw workers who were not yet organised into labour unions, and soon created a number of other industrial labour unions. Frightened by the growing strength of the left wing, the leaders of the AFL expelled eight of the unions from their organisation in 1936. Thus arose a new labour union association, which in 1938 began calling itself the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). With the active participation of Communists, the CIO promoted the further unionisation of nonorganised workers. Its membership reached 4 million in 1937.

In 1936, the next election campaign began in the USA. Franklin D. Roosevelt sustained an impressive victory in the elections. His second term as President coincided with the beginning of a new economic crisis. In 1938, industrial production fell by 23 per cent in comparison with that of 1937. Monopolies intensified their assault against the vital interests of the working people and against democracy. The forces of fascism and militarism became more active. By 1939, there were more than 700 pro-fascist organisations in the USA. The working class, the Communist Party, and the labour unions stepped up their struggle against the war, fascism and the assault of capital. At the beginning of 1937, the CIO conducted two successful large-scale strikes in the automobile industry; one by workers at the enterprises of General Motors, and the other by workers at the factories of Chrysler. The Communist Party and the American League for Peace and Democracy, founded by it in 1937, actively participated in a campaign for the defence of the Spanish Republic. More than 3,000 American Communists took up weapons to fight in the

Lincoln International Brigade against the fascists. On the eve of the war, membership in the Communist Party grew (90,000 as compared to 17,000 in 1933).

*US foreign policy on the eve of the Second World War.* One of Roosevelt's first foreign policy acts was to establish diplomatic and trade relations with the Soviet Union. On November 16, 1933, the USSR and USA exchanged notes on the establishment of diplomatic relations. In 1935 and 1937, trade agreements were concluded between the two countries, which furthered the development of mutually beneficial economic ties.

In the 1930s, the USA continued to strive for the spreading of its sphere of influence and world dominance. It consolidated its position in Latin America. This was furthered by the "good neighbor" policy declared by Roosevelt in December 1933 in relation to the Latin American countries. In 1936, eleven trade agreements were concluded between the USA and the countries of Latin America.

In Western Europe and in the Far East, the USA encouraged the aggressors—Germany, Italy and Japan, and supplied them with military equipment. The "neutrality" proclaimed by the USA in 1935 meant the refusal of aid to the victims of aggression and, by the same token, the encouragement of the fascist states in their expansionist acts. Moreover, the USA continued to trade in military-strategic weapons with the aggressor states.

The policy of encouraging the aggressors proved dangerous to the interests of the American monopolies themselves. Contradictions between the USA and both Germany and Japan grew sharper. On the eve of the war, the USA increased production of arms and set about creating military bases on Pacific islands. In 1938, the U.S. War Department drew up a "plan of industrial mobilization" in the case of war. The Energy Committee of National Defense was also founded. At the beginning of 1939, the USA took measures to strengthen the Army, Navy and Air Force.

Broad sectors of the American public were greatly disturbed by the impending threat of a second world war. The Communist Party and other progressive organisations conducted a campaign of solidarity with the peoples of Ethiopia, Spain and China against the fascist

aggressors. They protested against the German *Anschluss* of Austria and against the "Munich betrayal".

## 2. Canada

*The upsurge of the working-class and farmers' movement in Canada after the end of the First World War.* Canada, a British dominion, fought in the First World War on the side of the Entente. More than 400,000 Canadian soldiers found themselves in the European theatre of war. The orders for arms and materiel boosted heavy industry. From 1917 to 1920, a coalition (unionist) Cabinet of the Conservatives and Liberals was in power, headed by Robert Laird Borden. The unionist government was faced with serious difficulties in connection with the transfer from wartime to peacetime. In February 1918, Canada created a department to deal with demobilised soldiers. Measures were taken to develop health care, job training, aid to the unemployed, etc.

The war furthered the expansion of state-monopoly regulation of the economy. One of the manifestations of this process was the nationalisation of the railways, completed between 1918 and 1923. The Canadian National Railway was set up in Canada.

In the postwar years, the penetration of American capital into Canada accelerated. Within two years after the war, the USA had overtaken Great Britain in volume of capital investments in Canada.

The ideas of the October Revolution made a great impact in Canada and helped to promote the working-class and national movement in the country. The organisation Canadian Friends of Soviet Russia collected money, clothing, foodstuffs and medicaments for the Soviet Union. The working masses actively protested against the participation of the Canadian forces in the anti-Soviet intervention. The progressive forces prevented military units and weapons intended for the intervention from being dispatched. The population, especially the French-speaking inhabitants, protested against the introduction of conscription. In Quebec there were clashes between the masses and the troops.

The inspiring example of the Russian revolution and

the aggravation of the class contradictions in Canada itself raised the working-class movement in the country to a new level. The biggest general strike of those years took place in Winnipeg from May to June 1919. The metalworkers and builders went on strike on May 1, demanding an eight-hour working day, wage rises and recognition of the trade unions. Then the strike became a general one. The strikers set up their own committee, which did in fact govern the town for six weeks. Solidarity strikes began throughout the country. Only by means of force did the authorities manage to quash the strike. Some of the demands of the workers were met.

Large-scale strikes were also called by lumberjacks and longshoremen between 1919 and 1922. In the course of the struggle the workers became better organised. The position of the main trade-union centre—the Professional and Workers' Congress of Canada (PWCC) was strengthened. Trade union membership rose from 205,000 in 1917 to 249,000 in 1918 and 378,000 in 1919. Left-wing sentiments within the trade-union movement increased. Many members of the trade unions came out against the reformist policy of the leaders of the PWCC and strove to restructure the shop unions into industrial trade unions. These sentiments resulted in the convening in March 1919 of the Western Canadian Workers' Conference. Its participants adopted a resolution on the creation of a new trade-union organisation—the One Big Union (OBU), in which anarcho-syndicalist<sup>1</sup> sentiments were predominant. More than 40,000 people became members of the OBU. However, as a result of the opposition of the reformist leaders of the PWCC, by the end of 1922 the new trade-union movement had practically ceased to exist.

In that period, an attempt was also made to create a right-wing Catholic trade union. In 1918, 1919, and 1920 the Catholics held trade-union conferences, and in 1921 they founded the Federation of Catholic Workers

<sup>1</sup> Anarcho-Syndicalism—an opportunist trend within the working-class movement influenced by anarchism. Its adherents reject political struggle and the leading role of workers' parties and believe that the highest form of the organisation of the working class are the trade unions, to whom the means of production should be transferred.

of Canada (FCWC). The new trade-union centre came out in favour of cooperation between labour and capital and rejected the strike movement and political actions. The farmers also joined the class struggle alongside the workers. In 1919, they managed to set up the first farmers' and workers' government in the province of Ontario. In the provinces of Alberta and Manitoba they gained the majority at the legislative assemblies. The farmers' movement led to the formation of a petty-bourgeois national Progressive Party in 1920 which spoke in favour of lower prices on farm machinery and lower tariffs on rail freight. Some of the members of the Party also advanced demands that the railways and power stations should be nationalised.

In 1920, Canada was hit by an economic crisis. As a result, the condition of the working masses greatly worsened, including that of the farmers. As a result, the farmers' movement became more and more active. At the general elections in 1921, the Progressive Party received 65 mandates out of 245. This allowed it to have a definite influence on the policy of the Liberals, who received a relative majority at the elections and formed a cabinet headed by Martin King (1921-1926). The Progressive Party gradually lost influence. It suffered defeat at elections in 1926 and soon ceased to play any appreciable role in the political life of the country.

In the postwar period, sentiments in Canada increased in favour of creating a national labour party along the lines of the British Labour Party. The founding of such a party was announced at a congress in March 1918. As its main task, the Labour Party sought to have its representatives elected to parliament and to carry out moderate reforms. The Great October Socialist Revolution promoted the development of the communist movement in Canada. The first illegal groups of Communists appeared in 1918. In June 1921, the Canadian Communists formed an illegal party, which approved the theses and rules of the Comintern and announced that they would join it. A congress of the Communists held in February 1922 announced the creation of the legal Workers' Party of Canada, which was renamed the Communist Party of Canada in June 1924. In April 1922, under its leadership the Trade Union Educational

League came into being, which opposed the policy of class cooperation and worked to organise unorganised workers. The Communist Party devoted much attention to the creation of a farmers' and workers' party.

After the war, the international position of Canada became stronger. Canada independently signed the Versailles Treaty and other peace treaties. It succeeded in having its government recognised in the League of Nations and in the United States. Canada participated, (as a member of the British delegation) in the Washington Conference of 1921-1922. Canada, together with the mother country, gave de facto recognition to Soviet Russia in 1922.

*Strengthening of Canada's independence.* From 1923 to 1929, a relative stabilisation of capitalism took place in Canada. As a result of the economic upsurge, the gross national product increased by 35 per cent. Canada became an industrial-agrarian state. The mining industry and the pulp and paper industry were developed, as were non-ferrous metallurgy, electrical energy, and machine-building. The light, automobile, and chemical industries also grew. Wheat production increased. At the same time, Canada remained highly dependent on the markets of the USA and Britain. Fifty of the largest companies and banks (International Nickel, Canada Cement, Bank of Montreal, Royal Bank of Canada) became the virtual masters of the country. The concentration of production involved agriculture as well. Canadian capitalism grew into monopoly capitalism—imperialism. Its characteristic feature became foreign economic expansion, especially in Latin America.

The Liberal government of Martin King conducted a policy of manoeuvring between big business and farming. In 1926, King was again made head of the government (1926-1930).

The working-class movement of Canada went into a slump. The right-wing leaders of the trade unions actively followed a policy of class cooperation. Left-wing elements were driven out of the Canadian Trade Union Congress. Therefore, the creation in 1927 of the All-Canada Congress of Labor (ACL), which came out in favour of creating industrial trade unions and participating in political actions, was a positive occurrence in the working-class movement.

Important work in the trade-union movement was conducted by the Communist Party, which upheld the idea of re-organising the trade unions on an industrial basis. The Party also devoted great attention to working among the farmers and creating progressive farmers' organisations. In 1925, the Farmers' Educational League was created.

In the period of capitalist stabilisation, Canada's independence strengthened. British imperialism was continually losing its position there. As early as 1923, London in fact recognised the right of dominions to independent jurisdiction over foreign affairs. At the 1926 Commonwealth Conference, Canada, together with other dominions, achieved legal equality with the mother country in all rights. In 1927, Canada and the USA exchanged envoys. Later, Canadian missions were opened in France, Japan, and a number of other countries. Canada became more active in the League of Nations and other international organisations. In relations with the Soviet state, Canada steered a hostile course and in 1927, following the example of Great Britain, it severed relations with the USSR.

*Canada in the 1930s.* From 1929 to 1933 Canada was hit by a grave economic crisis in the wake of the USA. Industrial production in the country fell by more than 50 per cent in the years of the crisis. By the beginning of 1933, more than 1.3 million persons were unemployed (together with their families). This constituted 12 per cent of the country's entire population. Prices on wheat and other agricultural produce fell. As a result of the crisis, 240,000 farms were ruined. Inflation in the country grew.

General elections took place in Canada on July 28, 1930. The Liberal government of Martin King (1926-1930), which had done nothing to overcome the crisis, did not receive the backing of the voters. The elections were won by the Conservatives whose leader Richard Bedford Bennett formed a government (1930-1935). He started off by raising duties on industrial goods. The new government also attempted to solve the unemployment problem. In accordance with a law on unemployment benefits (1930), 20 million dollars were allocated annually (until 1942). But no cardinal solution of this

problem was achieved. The working people sought the adoption of a law on unemployment insurance. This idea was supported by the trade unions and municipal councils. However, industrialists and the majority in parliament thwarted the adoption of corresponding legislation.

The Conservatives ruthlessly quashed the protests of the working class, the farmers, and the unemployed, using armed force against strikes. Following the example of the USA, "labour camps" were set up for the unemployed in Canada, where hard labour was rewarded with a pittance. The authorities were particularly cruel in dealing with the Communists. In August 1931 they arrested and threw into prison the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Tim Buck, and seven other party leaders. The Communist Party was outlawed. It was not until 1934 that, in view of mass protests, Tim Buck and the other leaders of the Communist Party of Canada were released. All in all, some 10,000 people were arrested under Bennett's government.

In those years, the Workers' Unity League, founded in 1929 on the initiative of the Communist Party, played an important part in defending the interests of the workers. The Farmers' Unity League operated in the farmers' movement, and active in the general democratic movement was the Canadian League for Workers' Defense. Strikes continued. Between 1930 and 1935, there were some 800 strikes, with nearly 170,000 people participating. Of special significance were the strikes by the miners of Estevan in Alberta (September 1931), of the furniture workers of Stratford in Ontario (September-November 1933), and the dock workers of Vancouver (June-December 1935).

The movement of the unemployed was of a mass character. The Communist Party and the Workers' Unity League played a large role in its organisation. The unemployed conducted large-scale demonstrations and convened conferences and congresses. Between 1933 and 1935 the unemployed who were put to work in the "labour camps" held their own kind of strikes. They put forward demands for better conditions and, in the final analysis, the liquidation of the camps and the provision of real jobs. In the summer of 1935, the unem-

ployed conducted a march on Ottawa. It was broken up by troops and police.

During the crisis a certain regrouping of the political parties occurred in Canada. This largely ensued from the vacillating position of the petty-bourgeois strata. Some of them inclined towards the fascist movement. Numerous fascist-type groupings appeared in Canada, in Quebec, in particular. Others supported the right-wing Social-Democrats who organised themselves into the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in 1932. It was a coalition of workers' and farmers' parties and organisations. The Party combined the anti-monopoly strivings of the farmers with the ideology of labourism.

In Canada's foreign policy there developed tendencies defined after the First World War. On December 11, 1931, the British Parliament adopted the so-called Westminster Statute on mutual relations between Great Britain and the dominion. It took into account the increased independence of Canada and the other dominions. According to the Westminster Statute, Canada was granted the right to repeal and change the laws of the British Parliament which applied to it. Henceforth, laws in respect of Canada could not be issued in London without the consent of the Canadian government. At the same time the Statute restricted the legislative initiatives of Canada's federal government in relation to its provinces. Great Britain also retained its individual right to change the Canadian Constitution. Nevertheless, the adoption of the Westminster Statute signified further confirmation of Canada's sovereignty.

Bennett's government came forward with the initiative of concluding agreements within the framework of the British Empire on imperial preferences (preferential duties). It hoped thereby to promote sales of goods within the framework of the empire. This question was discussed at the British Commonwealth Conference on economic questions held in July-August 1932 in Ottawa, the capital of Canada. Britain made concessions at the conference. It was decided to establish preferences in trade among the countries of the British Empire. The share of the dominions in British imports increased. Although the decisions taken at the Ottawa conference were to a certain extent of advantage to Canada, the

latter was not able to find markets for its surplus industrial goods and agricultural produce. Therefore, in 1935, Bennett began negotiations with the USA on a trade agreement.

At the next general elections on October 14, 1935, the Conservative Party lost. The Liberals came to power, who formed a government headed by Martin King (1935-1948). King's government gradually liquidated the "labour camps". Laws were adopted in a number of provinces which recognised trade unions, collective labour agreements and minimum wages. In 1937-1938, Canada was hit by another economic crisis, which exacerbated the social and political situation in the country.

In the second half of the 1930s, Canada was increasingly drawn into the orbit of the US policy. In its trade agreements with the USA, Canada undertook to cut taxes on American exports. Military cooperation between the USA and Canada began.

In its foreign policy, Martin King's government, following in the footsteps of the USA, Great Britain, and France, pursued a policy of non-interference and encouraging the aggressor. It refused to take sanctions against Italy following its aggression against Ethiopia, embargoed the export of arms and materiel to Spain, and recognised the annexation of Austria by Germany. It approved the Munich deal on the partitioning of Czechoslovakia. An anti-Soviet tendency was clearly manifest in Canada's foreign policy on the eve of the Second World War.

The Canadian workers, however, actively spoke out against the onslaught of capital, the danger of fascism and the threat of war. The Canadian Communists were in the vanguard of this movement. During the crisis the Communist Party headed the struggle of the working people against unemployment and against the reactionary offensive of the ruling circles. It organised an extensive campaign for the release of the arrested party leaders. In June 1936, the Canadian Parliament amended Article 98 of the Criminal Code on the basis of which the Communist Party had been outlawed. The Communists again began to operate legally. Under the leadership of the Communist Party anti-war conferences were organised in the country. In October 1934, a congress organised

by the Communist Party and the Cooperative Federation was convened against war and fascism representing more than 375,000 members of the movement.

Elaborating on the idea of a united front, the Communist Party of Canada came out in favour of creating a workers' and farmers' party. Believing that the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation could become the main base of anti-monopoly unity, the Party was ready to join its ranks as a collective member. In 1938, the Communist Party of Canada proposed to create a Democratic People's Front, in which not only the workers' and farmers' organisations could join but also the radical and anti-fascist sectors of the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party's strong opposition against the assault of the forces of reaction and war furthered the growth of the Communists' prestige. The ranks of the Communist Party of Canada increased from 5,500 members in 1934 to 15,000 in 1937. The Party began to work closely together with the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation on a nationwide scale.

A remarkable page in the history of the Communist Party was its participation in the international assistance to the Spanish Republic. Under the leadership of the Communists, a battalion of Canadian volunteers was formed. It was called the Mackenzie-Papineau battalion, in honour of William Mackenzie and Louis Papineau, and it fought as part of the International Brigade in Spain.

Thousands of Canadians joined the organisations League for Peace and Democracy and Friends of the League of Nations. Together with the peace champions in all countries, the Canadian working people protested against the unleashing of the Second World War.

## Chapter 5 LATIN AMERICA

### 1. The Revolutionary Movement in Latin America in 1918-1923

*The situation in Latin America after the end of the First World War.* After the First World War the countries of Latin America remained highly dependent on foreign, mainly British and North American, imperialism. The United States was particularly active on the continent, largely ousting its rivals. The sway of foreign capital prevented the development of the national economies in the countries of Latin America and helped to preserve feudal and semifeudal relations, especially in the countryside. In many countries big landed estates dominated in agriculture. Foreign capital took over huge tracts of land in the countries of Latin America. The US oil monopolies seized many millions of hectares of land. The broad masses of the peasants experienced the yoke of foreign capital on the coffee, banana, cotton, and other plantations. The foreign owners used such methods of exploitation as share-cropping, extortionate leases, and forced labour to work off debts.

During the First World War there was a temporary economic boom in Latin America. But immediately after the war a slump began. During the economic crisis of 1920-1921 work came to a standstill at the meat-packing houses in Argentina, the oil-field in Mexico, the saltpetre and copper mines in Chile and at the sugar refineries in Cuba. The cultivation of crops for export decreased. This was accompanied by a rise in the prices of industrial goods and agricultural produce. Great numbers of unemployed appeared in the towns and cities. The peasants grew poorer in the countryside. Many representatives of the urban petty bourgeoisie were ruined. The national commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, which

had gained in strength somewhat in the war years, now began to experience considerable difficulties.

The dependence on foreign imperialism, the existence of feudal and semifeudal relations in all spheres of life in the Latin American countries led to a growth of contradictions and an upsurge in the class struggle and the liberation movement. The industrial working class, whose organisation and ideological and political level had risen considerably, began to play a growing part in this struggle. The national bourgeoisie also began to act more vigorously against foreign capital and the vestiges of feudalism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution stimulated an upsurge of the national liberation movement in the countries of Latin America. The working masses warmly welcomed the revolutionary events in Russia. They held demonstrations of solidarity, sent messages of greetings to the Land of Soviets, protested against the intervention of the Entente countries and unanimously upheld Lenin's peace policy. The ideas of the October Revolution rallied together the left Socialists and undermined the influence of the reformists and anarcho-syndicalists. Communist groups and parties began to mushroom. José Carlos Mariátegui (Peru), Luis Emilio Recabarren (Chile), Julio Antonio Mella (Cuba), Victorio Codovilla and Rodolfo Ghioldi (Argentina), Astrogildo Pereira (Brazil) and Manuel Diaz Ramírez (Mexico) were among those who played an important part in disseminating the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and organising the communist parties.

The revolutionary struggle against local and foreign exploiters was waged in many countries in Latin America from 1917 to 1923. Although this struggle did not result in any radical changes in the situation of individual states, it made some headway in liberating them from imperialist and feudal oppression.

*Argentina.* During the First World War the textile, metallurgical, ship-building, electrical and cement industries expanded in Argentina, but on the whole it remained an agrarian country. Just as before, British capital predominated in the economy, having at its disposal the railways, the combined meat-packing houses, the power stations, the mining of non-ferrous metals and had big plantations.

After the war, owing to the declining demand for Argentinian agricultural raw materials and foodstuffs, and also to the growing competition from the USA and Canada, Argentina's foreign trade waned, and industrial output decreased. The offensive on the living standard of the working people began. In response to the drop in wages and the growth in taxes, the workers began to step up the strike campaign.

The Argentinian working people enthusiastically welcomed the October Revolution in Russia. Owing to the impact it made, there were stormy demonstrations, militant strikes, student unrest, and workers' and peasants' rebellions in Argentina in 1918. The working people fought for their material interests and simultaneously supported the proletariat in Soviet Russia.

Important changes occurred in the Socialist Party of Argentina where the left, Marxist wing (Augusto Kuhn, Victorio Codovilla, and Rodolfo Ghioldi) had become stronger. The left-wingers managed to cause a split with the reformists, and in January 1918 they formed the International Socialist Party, which was later renamed the Communist Party of Argentina.

In January 1919, the workers at the metallurgical plant in Buenos Aires, which belonged to a British company, went on strike, demanding the introduction of an eight-hour working day and improved working conditions. In the course of the strike the entrepreneurs used armed bands against the workers. During one of the rallies mercenaries killed and wounded several workers. The workers then began a general strike. More than 200,000 people walked in the funeral procession. Those in the procession were again fired at. This time the workers seized weapons in the stores, erected barricades and battled with the police and troops. The "bloody week" began. The workers' actions were guided by two trade unions with the same name—the Workers' Regional Organisations of Argentina—one headed by the anarchists and the other by the anarcho-syndicalists. The leaders of these organisations, however, soon started negotiations with the government, while the artillery broke down the barricades. During the battles 1,500 workers were killed and approximately 4,000 were wounded. The authorities made mass arrests.

Although this action by the workers was defeated, the strike movement continued. Sailors, printers, railwaymen, and agricultural workers all participated in it. In the period of the economic crisis of 1920-1921, new strikes and armed clashes between workers and troops and police occurred. As a sign of protest, the strikers set fire to crops, grain and timber depots. An acute struggle was waged by the workers of Patagonia, where in December 1921 an uprising of agricultural workers broke out. The rebels seized landowners' estates and killed their owners, government officials and policemen. The government called in troops to fight against the workers. Armed bands (the Patriotic League) were also formed to deal with the insurgents.

Many actions in that period were directed against foreign capital. In these, the national bourgeoisie also took part. Under their influence, the government of President Yrigoyen (the Radical Citizens' Union) worked out bills on the nationalisation of the meat-packing industry and the oil industry, which were controlled by the British and Americans. But representatives of the big trade bourgeoisie, who had ties with the landowners and foreign capital, torpedoed the adoption of the bills on nationalisation. Yrigoyen's government introduced an eight-hour working day with Sundays off, vacations for workers, and established minimum wages. In its foreign policy it tried to run an independent course. In 1922, the government of Alverra (right-wing party of the Radical Citizens' Union) was formed in Argentina, which began to pursue a policy of repressions. Soon the revolutionary movement in the country subsided.

*Brazil* was the only Latin American country to participate in the First World War. In 1918, it sent several brigades to Europe to fight on the side of the Entente. Brazilian battleships carried out a number of operations at sea with British warships. Concurrently, they patrolled the South Atlantic.

During the war Brazil's industry developed noticeably, the most considerable growth being in the light, above all, food industry. The Brazilian bourgeoisie and landowners obtained high profits from their military supplies. But they did not manage to undermine the sway of foreign, chiefly British, capital. The British

dominated in shipping, the banks, the textile industry, the railways, and on the coffee plantations. Feudal and semi-feudal relations persisted in the countryside.

The condition of the working masses remained difficult. Just as in Argentina, it drastically worsened when the war ended. The growing class contradictions and also the differences between the national forces and foreign capital served as the basis for the revolutionary upsurge in the early post-war years. The Brazilian proletariat whose ranks had increased from 135,000 in 1909 to 275,000 in 1920, began to play an active part. But its demonstrations were in the main of a spontaneous nature. The Socialists and the anarchists, who were active in the working-class movement, could not impart to it an organised, class nature.

The ideas of Lenin began to be disseminated in Brazil under the impact of the October Revolution. Some of the anarchists went over to communist positions, albeit slowly. Rallies and demonstrations were held everywhere at which the working people expressed their support for Soviet Russia. Slogans of solidarity with the Land of Soviets were advanced in the course of the strike campaign. In November 1918, the anarcho-Bolshevik group, which had sprung up among the anarchists, staged an uprising in Rio de Janeiro and proclaimed a Workers' Republic, which existed for a few days. The rebellion was poorly prepared and not linked with the movement of the broad masses. The authorities quashed the uprising relatively swiftly and easily.

The demand for an eight-hour working day and pay rises to counter the high cost of living were of considerable importance in the working-class movement. On May 1, 1919, the workers held mass demonstrations to back up these demands. The gathering strike campaign promoted the growth of trade union organisations. The textile, bakery, port, and tram workers set up their own trade unions. In July 1919, the working people of Brazil held demonstrations to protest against imperialist intervention in Soviet Russia.

In 1919, Epitacio Pessoa became head of government. He raised the siege, introduced an eight-hour working day, insurance for workers against industrial accidents, and granted wage rises.

The economic crisis, which began in 1920, led to a drop in output in the mining and manufacturing industries and on the coffee plantations. The workers' protests against the high cost of living and unemployment were quashed by the authorities, and the trade unions were broken up.

Experience gained in class battles made it clear that a militant communist vanguard of the Brazilian workers should be set up. By this time communist circles had already sprung up in the country's cities. On March 25, 1922, the Communists gathered at a congress in Rio de Janeiro and formed the Communist Party of Brazil which was forced to go underground in July 1922.

In 1922, Brazil's government was headed by Bernardes, a big landowner and stockholder who had close ties with foreign capital. He began an anti-labour repressive campaign, which generated discontent and protest throughout the country. In the summer of 1922, unrest began in the army. On July 5, the Capacubana Fort garrison in Rio rose in rebellion, but government troops quashed the uprising swiftly.

Chile's prewar economic ties with Germany (trade in saltpetre) were responsible for the country's favourable neutrality with regard to the German block in the early stages of the war. But then Chile reorientated itself on Britain and the USA, which became the chief importers of Chilean saltpetre, copper ore and iron ore. The end of the war resulted in a sharp drop in Chile's exports (from 2,137,000 pesos in 1917 to 995,000 pesos in 1919). The country's economy was in a lamentable state. The copper and saltpetre mines, the coal mines, and enterprises of other industries began to shut down. Unemployment and famine had a telling effect on the plight of the working masses. The economic crisis that started in 1918 continued to deepen in subsequent years.

The aggravation of the class contradictions and the impact of the October Revolution in Russia caused an upsurge in the working-class and anti-imperialist movement in the country. From 1918, the working masses in Chile joined the movement of protest against famine. In 1919, there was a general strike in the country's central regions. In the course of the strikes public committees

against starvation and the rising cost of living emerged. The anger of the working people was also spearheaded against foreign capital. The demands for the extension of political and social rights for the people were resounding ever more vigorously. The conservative government of President Juan Luis Sanfuentes (1915-1920) resorted to repressive methods, but unsuccessfully.

The presidential elections in Chile in 1920 were won by the candidate of the Liberal Alliance formed of the Radical, Democratic and Liberal parties, Arturo Alessandri. The Liberals proposed a programme of reforms which expressed the interests of the national bourgeoisie. They promised to make partial concessions to the working masses. But the new president (1920-1925) did not keep the Liberal Alliance's election promises. He continued the policy of making concessions to foreign capital. In 1921, the government obtained a loan of 24 million dollars at 8 per cent per annum from the United States. In the final count, the loan only placed a heavy burden on the shoulders of the working people. Terror and repressions continued within the country. The authorities sent troops and police against the striking workers. Many workers' organisations were smashed. At the same time the government introduced an eight-hour working day, a day off on Sundays, social insurance, and recognised the right of workers to organise trade unions and conclude collective agreements. But these concessions were largely of a formal nature.

One of the manifestations of the revolutionary upsurge was the development of the communist movement in Chile. The left wing of the Socialist Workers' Party headed by Luis Emilio Recabarren, formed before the war, gained the majority in the party. The party spoke out against the imperialist war, supported the October Socialist Revolution, and joined the movement of solidarity with Soviet Russia. On January 2, 1922, it was reorganised as the Communist Party of Chile and joined the Comintern. Positive processes were clearly manifest in the development of the Socialist Workers' Party and the Workers' Federation of Chile. In 1921, the latter was reorganised into a left-wing trade union association and joined the Profintern, the trade Union International. All this was evidence that the left wing of the

country's working-class movement was gaining in strength. During the First World War there was an economic boom in Peru, which was followed by a drop in exports and a decline in the mining industry after the war. The material condition of the working people deteriorated considerably owing to unemployment and price rises. In 1923, the cost of living had grown 150-200 per cent against 1913. In these circumstances, the Peruvian working people, inspired by the October Revolution in Russia, actively joined in the revolutionary movement. In 1919, hunger riots and raids on foodstuff stores and groceries began. The public committees, which had been set up in the towns and cities to deal with the famine, formed a central committee in Lima which coordinated the movement. The committee's appeal of April 13, 1919, contained demands that the government should establish fixed prices on foodstuffs and other consumer goods and cut taxes and fares.

The working people staged a number of strikes and demonstrations in support of their demands. The May Day demonstration in 1919 was held under the slogans "Bread and Work!" and "Down with the Exploiters!" Those who took part in the demonstrations also demanded an eight-hour working day, wage rises, and labour legislation. At the rally in Lima on May 4, 1919, the slogans for power to be given to the working people were enthusiastically supported. Strikes began at enterprises in the capital (the textile mills, the power station, and others). On May 27, a general strike flared up in Peru, the first in the history of the working-class movement in the country. The strike was accompanied by stormy demonstrations. The government of President José Prado announced the introduction of martial law and sent troops and police against the workers; there were numerous victims of the cruel reprisals. But it was not until the beginning of July that the authorities managed to put an end to the general strike.

Fearing a further revolutionary upsurge, the bourgeois-landowner circles staged a coup d'état. The protégé of the American company Standard Oil, Augusto Bernardino Leguia y Salcedo became president who quashed the revolutionary protests of the working masses. In 1921, the authorities dealt severely with a strike of agricultural

workers. The fact that the workers did not have a revolutionary party made their attacks on the country's ruling circles less effective.

The economic boom in Cuba, which began in the war years, continued until 1920. That was due to the great demand for Cuban cane-sugar in the USA and Europe. The sugar manufacturers and landowners derived huge profits in that period. The country's President was a representative of the Conservatives, the protégé of the US monopolies, General Mario García Menocal (1916-1920). Cuba became more dependent on the USA, which sent troops there in 1917. Almost the whole of the country's economy was under the control of the American monopolies. US capital investments in Cuba had grown from 220 million dollars in 1913, to 1,400 million dollars after the war. The sugar cane plantations, the sugar refineries and the means of transport had all been put under the control of US imperialism.

At the same time, the main mass of Cuba's population was poverty-stricken and ruined. The landless peasants had virtually become slaves. The Cuban proletariat swelled as the sugar, tobacco, and other branches of the light industry developed. In 1919, it numbered 950,000. It became an increasingly active class and anti-imperialist force. In 1918, the stokers, founders, printers, tobacco workers, railwaymen, port workers and others went on strike. In the course of these strikes the workers tried to get an eight-hour working day and wage rises. On May 1, 1918, the workers of Havana staged a strike, demanding an end to the anti-Soviet intervention in the Far East. As the movement grew so did the sympathy of the workers for the ideas of communism.

The national bourgeoisie and some of the liberal landowners also protested against the domination of foreign imperialism. A struggle was being waged in the country's political life between the oppositional Liberal and the ruling Conservative Party. The presidential elections at the end of 1920 were won by means of all kinds of intrigues, by Alfredo Zayas y Alfonso, who had gone over to the side of the Conservatives.

In 1921, an economic crisis began in Cuba, in the course of which sugar production declined, the banks went bankrupt, a huge deficit was formed in the state bud-

get, and the condition of the working masses deteriorated. As the class contradictions grew in acuteness, the Liberals decided to make preparations for an uprising and overthrow the Conservative government. But the personal representative of the US President, General Enoch Crowder, brought pressure to bear on them by threatening armed intervention. Soon he in fact became the ruler of Cuba. It was at that time that Cuba was swamped with experts. The Cuban Government received a loan of five million dollars from the Morgan Bank, for which it promised that it would effect financial reforms advantageous to the USA.

In response to this, the working people and patriotic forces in Cuba staged demonstrations, strikes and other protests of an anti-American nature. A movement championing Cuba's sovereignty began in the countries of Latin America. The USA was forced to withdraw its troops from Cuba (February 1922) and recall General Crowder. True, he soon returned to Havana, but this time as the Ambassador of the USA.

*Mexico.* The bourgeois-democratic revolution, which had begun in 1910, was completed in Mexico in 1917. The anti-feudal, anti-imperialist nature of the revolution was reflected in the 1917 Constitution.

The liberal-constitutionalist government headed by Venustiano Carranza took an anti-imperialist stand, but on the whole it expressed the interests of the bloc of the national bourgeoisie and the landowners. The agrarian reform was put into effect slowly. At the end of 1919 only some 36,000 peasants received land, although more than 2,700,000 people were landless. Therefore, the peasant masses continued to fight for land, arms in hand. The guerrilla detachments of Emiliano Zapata and Francisco Villa were active in the country. Government troops carried out big operations against the guerrillas. Zapata was killed in 1919, and Villa in 1923.

The news of the October Revolution in Russia was received with enthusiasm by the Mexican revolutionaries. The first communist organisations began to spring up in the country. Representatives of the revolutionary youth set up the Group of the Young Red Socialists which started its own printed organ *El Soviet*.

Under the pressure of the popular movement, Carranza's government made an attempt to restrict the arbitrariness of foreign capital somewhat. In February 1918, a decree was issued which raised the tax levied on the oil industrialists, and in July a decree on the compulsory re-registration of all foreign properties in the country. Foreign capital, primarily US capital, actively opposed the restricted measures of the Mexican Government. In the USA, the Senator Fall Committee came into being which urged intervention against Mexico. The differences between the two countries again became acute.

Simultaneously, the internal situation in Mexico became more complicated. The peasants continued to occupy landed estates. The workers made attempts to take over mines, set up Soviets in some places, and demanded that the mines should be socialised. The tension between the various trends in the working-class movement increased. While the anarcho-syndicalists were losing their influence among the masses, the reformists were, on the contrary, becoming more vigorous in their activity. In May 1918, they founded the Mexican Regional Workers' Confederation, and in 1919, the Workers' Party. By outlawing the activity of the anarcho-syndicalist centre, the House of the Workers of the World, and throwing its leaders into prison, the Carranza government helped the reformists to assert their influence in the working class.

But the vanguard part of the workers began to go over to communist positions. Translations of Lenin's works and other Marxist works appeared in the country. In September 1919, representatives of the Marxist circles and the socialist groups held a congress in Mexico City and announced the foundation of the Mexican Communist Party, which joined the Comintern. The young Communist Party set up its own printed organs and fought for the unity of the working-class and the anti-imperialist movement. But it was still weak ideologically and organisationally and could not extend its influence among the working masses.

Dissatisfaction with Carranza's policy led to the emergence of strong opposition in the country. It was headed by General Alvaro Obregon, who entered into a secret agreement with the leaders of the Workers'

Confederations in August 1919. The opposition set up its own armed forces and in April 1920 they launched an offensive on the capital. In May 1920, Carranza tried to flee from Mexico, but he himself was killed on the way. Thus a coup d'état took place in Mexico.

Meanwhile, the country was hit by an economic crisis. Industrial and agricultural output fell drastically. A numerous army of unemployed came into being, and the class struggle was activated again. In a number of places Soviets emerged. The government of Obregon, who had become President on December 1, 1920, pursued a policy of repressions against the revolutionary movement. In so doing, it relied on leading figures in the Workers' Confederation who were members of the government and frustrated the strike protests of the proletariat.

At the same time, the Obregon government was forced to make certain concessions to the working people. The agrarian reform began to be implemented more actively. In 1921-1923, the peasants were granted permanent ownership of 600,866 hectares of land. An even larger area of land was handed over to them for temporary use. Consequently, the positions of the latifundistas were somewhat undermined. Capitalist development became more intensive in the countryside.

In its foreign policy the Obregon government came up against opposition from foreign imperialism. The capitalist powers did not wish to recognise that government. The US and British oil companies cut down oil production in the country. Obregon was forced to agree to pay the Americans compensation for the land confiscated from them by the revolution. It was also decided that the articles of the Constitution restricting foreign holdings would not apply to any properties obtained before these articles went into effect, that is, before May 1, 1917. After this, in August 1923, the USA resumed its relations with Mexico. To consolidate its international position, the Obregon government took steps towards normalising relations with the Soviet Union as well.

In December 1923, the reactionary elements made an attempt to overthrow Obregon government. But the working masses countered the rebels, and the conspiracy failed.

## 2. The National Liberation and Working-Class Movement in the Countries of Latin America in the Period of Capitalist Stabilisation

During the years of partial stabilisation of capitalism foreign, chiefly American, capital began to penetrate the countries of Latin America more and more intensively. The United States unceremoniously interfered in the internal affairs of the states on that continent, sent troops there, quashed the revolutionary protests of the masses, and removed the governments that were not to its liking. Latin America's financial dependence on foreign capital became very much greater than before.

In these circumstances, the struggle of the popular masses for their national interests and against imperialism became more vigorous. In a number of cases, it acquired especially acute forms. The civil war in Nicaragua was just one example of this. The national forces came out strongly against foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of Latin America.

As the national liberation movement grew, its organisation and unity were consolidated. In 1927, on the basis of the national anti-imperialist leagues, the Anti-Imperialist League of America was founded. The communist parties gained in strength in parallel with the anti-imperialist and working-class movement. From 1924 to 1929 communist groups and parties were formed in Cuba, Peru, Paraguay, and other countries. At the first conference of the communist parties of Latin America in June 1929 it was noted that the revolutionary process on the continent was not of a socialist nature, as certain members of the communist parties believed, but of an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal nature. This proposition armed the Communists of Latin America with a correct understanding of the tasks and strategy of the liberation movement. At the same time, the communist parties still had a small membership and had not completely freed themselves of the influence of anarcho-syndicalism and reformism.

*Argentina in the years of stabilisation.* During the period of capitalist stabilisation there was an economic boom in Argentina. The output of cereals and industrial crops increased and the flour-milling industry rapidly

developed. The sugar, dairy, wine and textile industries raised their output. The boom also embraced the building and cement industries. This continued until 1927, when there was again a certain slump in economic activity. Under these conditions, Alvear's government refused to follow an anti-imperialist policy and took steps aimed against the vital interests of the working people.

During the years of stabilisation the struggle among the different trends in the working-class movement became more intense. The activity of the reformists was crowned by the setting up of the Confederation of Workers of Argentina in 1926, which pursued a policy of splitting the workers' unity. In the Communist Party there was a struggle between the Marxist trend and the ultra-left elements, which had proposed the venturesome task of immediately winning power for the workers. In December 1927, the Party dealt a final blow at the ultra-left elements. Following this, the Marxist nucleus of the Party waged a struggle against the right-wing opportunists. In 1928, the right-wingers were expelled from the Party. The Communist Party of Argentina actively participated in the working-class and anti-imperialist movement.

The presidential elections of 1928 were won by Yrigoyen whose government (1928-1930) nationalised the oil industry, and this provoked strong opposition from the USA. In the Pan-American Union Argentina was becoming increasingly opposed to American imperialism. Yrigoyen promoted relations with Great Britain to counteract the USA's efforts.

*The revolutionary movement in Brazil.* In the period of stabilisation, the USA appreciably strengthened its position in Brazil, crowding out Great Britain. Between 1922 and 1926, the President of Brazil was the reactionary Arturo Bernardes, who strove to establish an openly dictatorial regime. Under him freedom of the press was restricted, anti-democratic amendments were made to the Constitution, and protests by the working people were ruthlessly suppressed. In its foreign policy the Bernardes government resorted to foreign loans and extended its ties with the USA.

At the same time, to prevent the explosion of popular discontent, the government pursued a whip-and-carrot policy with regard to the workers. It set up a National

Council of Labour as a body of cooperation among the government, the entrepreneurs, and the workers. May 1 was recognised as a national public holiday. Industrial and office workers were granted two weeks annual paid holiday. But Bernardes did not manage to halt the growth of the revolutionary movement with these measures.

In the period under consideration the workers staged a number of big strikes, and the peasants resorted to guerrilla warfare. The protest by the soldiers, commissioned and noncommissioned officers of the Brazilian army was a particularly big one. On July 5, 1924, a rebellion flared up among the military units in the town of São Paulo. For three weeks the rebels supported by the workers repelled the onslaught of government troops. Then they left the town and waged guerrilla warfare for five months.

This protest made a great impression on the broad strata of the Brazilian people. Uprisings began in many states. In the northern part of the state of Rio Grande do Sul the rebellion in October 1924 was headed by Captain Luis Carlos Prestes. The rebels demanded that bourgeois-democratic freedoms should be restored and set out to join forces with the rebels in São Paulo. On joining them in April 1925, the Prestes Column began to march northwards from the south. The rebels covered 25,000 kilometres, fighting battles on the way. But they did not join up with the revolutionary movement of workers and peasants. Owing to its weakness, the Communist Party could not head this movement. The revolutionary protest in the army ended in failure. In February 1927, the Prestes Column went into Bolivia and was interned there.

In November 1926, Luis Pereira became the new President of Brazil, and on the whole he continued to pursue the policy of his predecessor, but abolished the state of siege. In January 1927 the Communist Party of Brazil came out from underground and began a campaign to win support among the masses. It displayed considerable activity in establishing its influence in the trade unions. In August 1927, the authorities drove the Communist Party of Brazil underground again. But the Communists' efforts were not in vain. Even

outlawed, they were able to take part in the election campaign and managed to get two of their representatives elected to the capital's town council in 1928. Another positive outcome of the Communists' work was the foundation of the General Conference of Labour of Brazil in April 1929.

*Cuba in the years of stabilisation.* In November 1924 presidential elections were held in Cuba which were won by General Gerardo Machado y Morales (1925-1933). During his term as president the positions of American capital in the country's economy became even stronger. It took over the mining and manufacturing industries, power production, transport, and the municipal economy. American capital investments in Cuba amounted to 1,500 million dollars in 1929.

The increasing American oppression met with resistance first and foremost on the part of the working class. In 1925, the workers in the sugar industry called a big strike. At that time, too, there were peasant unrest and student riots. In all cases, the government used troops and police against the people.

The growth of the working-class and anti-imperialist movement promoted the foundation of the Communist Party of Cuba in 1925. It was organised by Julio Antonio Mella and Carlos Baliño. The Communist Party actively joined in the mass movement. In 1925, the National Confederation of Workers of Cuba was founded, which took a class stand. Cuban reaction stepped up its attacks on the working-class and communist movement. The Communist Party was outlawed in 1926. One of its founders, Julio Mella, was ignobly murdered in 1929. Repressions also rained down on the trade-union and student movement.

*Mexico in the period of stabilisation.* In the elections of 1924 Plutarco Elias Calles, who had held the post of Minister of the Interior in Obregon's cabinet, was elected President of Mexico (1924-1928). The agrarian reform was put into effect more vigorously under him, and capitalist development was encouraged in the countryside. Calles managed to get a law passed depriving the church of the right to own real estate and prohibiting the clergy from engaging in political activity. Monastic orders were disbanded, and secular

education was introduced. This met with tremendous opposition on the part of the church. The clergy began their own type of strike, stopping church services for three years. Moreover, it organised armed units, who terrorised the population in many towns and villages.

Calles tried to launch an offensive on the rights of the foreign owners of oil-fields, thereby coming into sharp conflict with the USA. Finally, owing to the pressure exerted by foreign capital and local reaction, he was forced to retreat.

On the whole, Calles' activity helped to consolidate the positions of the national bourgeoisie and boost the country's economic development. At the same time, the condition of the working people remained a hard one. This further aggravated the class struggle. However, the leader of the Workers' Confederation, Luis Moronez, who held the post of Minister of Industry, Commerce, and Labour, did everything he could to counter the workers' strike campaign.

The election campaign of 1928 was held in an atmosphere of acute political struggle. Calles supported Obregon's nomination even to the point of having his political opponents murdered. He managed to restore Obregon to the post of President. But less than two weeks after the elections Obregon was assassinated.

*The civil war in Nicaragua.* In the period of stabilisation in Nicaragua, a civil war erupted. A reactionary coup was accomplished in the country in the autumn of 1925. However, the liberal bourgeoisie began a civil war against the reactionary dictatorship. The USA interfered in the conflict, pushing its own contender for the presidency. The civil war intensified and at that point American imperialists openly organised an armed intervention in Nicaragua.

The USA's aggressive policy called forth an upsurge in the anti-imperialist movement throughout Latin America. The popular masses in Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Guatemala, and the governments in a number of countries condemned the American intervention. The national liberation forces in Nicaragua continued their fight. Ever broader masses of the workers, peasants, and the Black and Indian poor joined in the struggle, in the course of which the popular leader, the commander

of one of the guerrilla detachments, Augusto Cesar Sandino, came to the fore. The scale of the popular movement frightened the liberal bourgeoisie, and it took the path of betraying the national cause. The commander of the national liberation army, General José María Moncada, entered into an agreement with the American imperialists in 1927, disarmed his own detachments, and ended the struggle. In November 1928, when the country was occupied by US troops, he was elected its president. Only Sandino's guerrilla detachments continued military operations against the American invaders. On the whole, however, the national liberation movement became disorganised. The anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the Nicaraguan people suffered defeat.

*The situation in Chile in the years of stabilisation.* In the second half of the 1920s an economic boom embraced Chile. The mining industry developed rapidly, and the output of copper and saltpetre increased considerably. But the political situation in the country was unstable. On September 5, 1924, a group of army officers carried out a coup d'état. Power was taken over by a junta headed by General Luis Altamirano. In January 1925 a new Constitution was adopted in Chile, which gave the president enormous powers. At the same time, the Constitution proclaimed democratic rights and freedoms, suffrage for women, and the separation of the church from the state. The presidential elections, which were held in accordance with the new Constitution in September 1925, were won by Emiliano Figueroa, who was a protégé of Alessandri. The republican regime was thus restored.

The condition of the working masses in the years of stabilisation did not change for the better. The popular masses in the country fought for nationalisation of the principal means of production, for workers' control at factories, for the allotment of land to the poor peasants, and so forth. In the course of the strikes at the saltpetre mines in June 1925 the workers took over the mines. For several weeks they put up resistance to troops and police who were using artillery and machine-guns to quash this protest. The outcome of the fighting was that more than three thousand workers and members of their families were killed.

The aggravation of the class struggle contributed to the political instability. Owing to this, the reactionary forces carried out another coup d'état in February 1927. President Figueroa was relieved of his post. The reactionary dictatorship of Colonel Carlos Ibañez del Campo was established in Chile. Under him, congress was dissolved, the Communist Party was outlawed, and thousands of Chileans were thrown into prison. Having banned the Workers' Federation of Chile, Ibañez del Campo set up a government-sponsored trade union organisation. In his foreign policy he intensified his country's orientation on cooperation with the USA. The American monopolies obtained new concessions. In 1929, US capital investments in Chile's economy amounted to 390 million dollars, which was in fact equal to British investments. British control over the saltpetre industry was replaced by American control.

### 3. The Countries of Latin America in the Years of the World Economic Crisis and on the Eve of the Second World War

The dependence of the Latin American countries on foreign imperialism was the reason why the world economic crisis hit the working masses on that continent very hard. The one-sided development of the economy in individual countries led to the accumulation of one kind of product or another, which could not be sold on the world market. The value of exports from the Latin American countries decreased by 64.3 per cent in the years of the economic crisis. The slump in industry and the neglect of the fields resulted in mass unemployment, the number of jobless in industry and agriculture reaching between five and seven million.

The drastic deterioration in the material situation of the working masses led to a fresh upsurge in the class struggle and the national liberation movement. The strike campaign became more vigorous, peasant unrest grew in scale, and mutinies in the army and the navy became increasingly common, which testified to the growing national awareness of the peoples of Latin America. A communist movement evolved. Communist parties

were formed in Venezuela, Panama, Colombia, El Salvador and Costa Rica.

The crisis led to the aggravation of inter-imperialist struggle in Latin America. Differences between the USA and Britain sometimes turned into conflicts between Latin American countries (Bolivia-Paraguay, Peru-Colombia, and others). Japan and Germany increased their expansion on the continent.

The slight recovery of the economies in Latin America in 1933 was a very slow one. In 1938, the continent was hit by a new economic crisis. Following the world economic crisis of 1929-33, the fascist powers penetrated Latin America apace. In 1937, German imperialism had already become the leading exporter of goods to Brazil and Chile. In an acute competitive struggle Britain was losing its status in the economies of the Latin American countries. The United States retained its influence with great difficulty in face of the fascist powers' expansion. Germany and the other fascist countries penetrated more and more intensively into the political life of the Latin American states. In Hitler's plans Latin America was conceived as a German colony called "New Germany". German fascism encouraged emigration to the states of Latin America, making the emigrants its agents. In some countries fascist ideas began to be disseminated and methods of fascist administration were copied.

The vital tasks of repelling fascism and foreign capital and preventing war faced the working class and all the anti-imperialist forces in Latin America. The inobliging part in tackling these tasks was played by the communist parties and other progressive organisations. The Confederation of Workers of Latin America, a progressive trade union association founded in 1938, was of great significance in defending the class and national interests of the working people. In some countries on the continent the working class was in the van of the movement to set up a united anti-fascist, anti-imperialist popular front.

*Argentina.* The onset of a crisis led to a decline in the demand for agricultural produce and the animal products exported by Argentina. The closing down of enterprises swelled the army of unemployed to 334,000 people. The industrial and agricultural workers and peasant tenants rose to fight the grave consequences

of the crisis. To save the situation, reaction decided to carry out a coup d'état. In September 1930 President Yrigoyen was replaced by General Jose Felix Uriburu, who was backed by the USA. General Uriburu's government perpetrated mass repressions against the working-class and peasant movements. The Civic Legion set up by him used terrorist methods to quash the protests of the working people. The reactionary nature of the new government was manifest in the stepping up of the anti-Soviet campaign as well. At the beginning of 1931, for example, 160 employees of the Soviet-Argentinian joint-stock company Yuzhamtorg were arrested.

The elections in November 1931 were won by General Juan Bautista Justo, who shared Uriburu's views and continued the policy of repressions against the working masses and their organisations. Under President Justo, the police arrested trade union activists and hounded the opposition. At the end of 1932 a law was passed in Argentina banning strikes. The anti-popular nature of Justo's policy caused the radicals to come out against him. At the end of 1933, they staged a rebellion in Santa Fe Province, but were defeated.

The regime of President Justo promoted the development of the fascist movement in Argentina. Under his regime membership in the Communist Party was punished by the death sentence.

Despite the cruel repressions, in March 1936 the Communist Party helped to create a Popular Front, which took part in election campaigns. But shortly after that, a split occurred in the Popular Front movement due to the fault of the right-wing Socialists.

In 1938, a representative of the reactionary forces, Roberto Ortiz, was elected the country's president. Under him (1938-1940) considerable concessions were made to American capital. At the same time Ortiz restored the constitutional regime and weakened the policy of repressions.

*Brazil.* During the crisis demand for Brazilian coffee decreased and its price fell. Huge quantities of this extremely important export item of Brazil accumulated in the warehouses. To keep the price of coffee high, the owners destroyed 2,400,000 tons of coffee either

by burning it or dumping it in the sea. Industrial production declined sharply. In the autumn of 1931, Brazil declared financial bankruptcy. Poverty, famine, and unemployment became the lot of the huge masses of the working people. In 1932, the number of unemployed was more than two million. The cost of living rose by nearly 150 per cent.

The crisis led to the aggravation of all the social contradictions. The textile workers, railwaymen, sailors and port workers joined in the strike campaign. The peasant movement became more active. An acute struggle got under way during the presidential elections in March 1930. The bourgeois-landowner circles which had ties with Britain, supported the Conservative Concentration candidate, Julio Prestes. The big landowners and capitalists orientated on the USA backed the Liberal Alliance candidate, Getulio Dornelles Vargas. Julio Prestes was elected President. Then Vargas' supporters started an armed struggle, and in October 1930 they seized power.

In spite of his promises, Vargas abolished the Constitution, dissolved parliament, and began to suppress the working-class movement but he did not manage to quash the class struggle. Big strikes began in the country. In the town of Recife (state of Pernambuco) a workers' and soldiers' rebellion flared up in October and November 1931. The troops sent by Vargas suppressed the uprising with great difficulty. At that time, too, there were numerous peasant riots. The supporters of the overthrown president, Julio Prestes, staged an uprising against Vargas' dictatorship in São Paulo in the summer of 1932 but were defeated. On May 13, 1933, Vargas was elected President. On July 16, 1934, a new constitution was adopted in Brazil which defended the interests of the bourgeoisie but also gave legal force to some of the gains secured by the working people in the course of their struggle.

The 1930s saw an increased threat of fascism in Brazil. In October 1932, the fascists set up their own party, Brazilian Integrated Action. In these circumstances, the idea of a Popular Front put forward by the Communists won great support. In January 1935, the Communist Party managed to unite the Communists, Social-

ists, anarchists, syndicalists, democratic liberal bourgeoisie and other anti-imperialist forces into the National Liberation Alliance. Its programme included demands for democracy, national freedom, and improved living conditions. The Alliance had 1,500,000 people in its ranks. The supporters of the Alliance demanded that all power in the country should be handed over to it. In response to this, Vargas outlawed the Alliance. But the latter continued to fight against the threat of fascism despite ban.

The National Front movement was behind the protest by the workers of the town of Natal in November 1935. In response to the repressions perpetrated by the authorities, the workers seized power in the town. Then a national revolutionary government began to operate within the framework of the entire state of Rio Grande do Norte. There was soon an uprising in Rio de Janeiro. Gaining help from foreign imperialism, Vargas' government quashed these protests. In November 1937, Vargas carried out a coup d'état, called off the coming elections and, having declared Brazil a "corporate state", he disbanded all the political parties. The Integralistas' (fascists') attempt to carry out a coup d'état was quashed by Vargas.

*Chile.* During the world economic crisis Chile's exports fell by 30 per cent. Many saltpetre and copper mines and enterprises in other industries closed down. There were 350,000 unemployed in 1932. Strikes, demonstrations, and marches by the unemployed began in the country. The demonstrators demanded that the government should resign. In the summer of 1931, the government of President Ibáñez del Campo lost power owing to pressure exerted by the masses. In September 1931, the sailors of the navy mutinied. With the workers in a number of towns and cities they demanded that people's power should be established in the country. After dogged battles with the government troops, who used aircraft, the sailors were forced to lay down their arms.

In June 1932 bourgeois circles staged a military coup which brought to power the government headed by Marmaduke Grove and Carlos Dávila. The new authorities proclaimed Chile "a socialist republic" and announced their intention to fight against national and

foreign capital. These declarations were enthusiastically welcomed by the masses. At the same time, the imperialists of the USA and Britain moved their warships up to the shores of Chile. The indecision of Dávila and Grove and their anti-communism undermined the position of the government. Moreover, Dávila left the government and on June 16 carried out a new coup d'état, thereby establishing his own dictatorship. Protection of private property was declared and a campaign against the Communist Party and the revolutionary-minded workers was started. On September 13, 1932, the dictatorship of Dávila was overthrown by General Blanche, who later suffered the same lot. The presidential elections in October 1932 were won by Arturo Alessandri, a representative of the bloc of Liberals and Radicals.

In this period Chile got out of the crisis. Lines of production traditional in that country began to flourish again. Alessandri's government (1932-1938) assisted the influx of American capital. On the eve of the Second World War US capital investments had reached 612 million dollars against 410 million dollars from Britain. Reactionary trends in the country's political life became more marked. Fascist organisations appeared in Chile. Consolidating the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist forces into a united front became a vital task of the Communists and all the democrats.

In 1935, committees of the Popular Front began to emerge. In 1936, the Communist and Socialist parties concluded an agreement on unity of action and formed the Popular Front. It was joined by the Confederation of Working People of Chile and the bourgeois opposition parties, the Democratic and Radical parties. This was a bloc of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, and the patriotic forces. In 1938, the Popular Front was highly successful in the municipal and presidential elections. The country's new president was the candidate of the Popular Front, the Radical Pedro Aguirre Cerda (1938-1941). His cabinet consisted of representatives of the Radical, Democratic, and Socialist parties. The Communist Party proclaimed its support for the government.

President Aguirre Cerda restored civil freedoms, outlined a programme for the development of national

industry, but did not touch the property of the foreign monopolies and the big latifundistas. Nor did he carry out any substantial socio-economic transformations. Foreign and local reaction exerted great pressure on the Popular Front government, resorting to methods of economic boycott. The victory of the Popular Front in Chile was, however, the most important achievement of the anti-imperialist forces in Latin America in the 1930s.

*Mexico.* During the crisis zinc, lead, copper, silver, gold, and oil extraction in Mexico decreased. The output of agricultural produce diminished. In 1932, there were approximately 340,000 unemployed in the country. To take the edge off the class struggle, the government banned political strikes and introduced compulsory arbitration. But these and other anti-worker measures did not stop the gathering movement of the working masses against the hardship associated with the crisis. Railwaymen, miners, workers in the power, textile and shoe industries and other contingents of workers joined in the strike campaign. The movement of the unemployed and the protests by the peasants and agricultural workers grew in scale.

In 1929, Calles' protégé, Pascuale Ortiz Rubio, was elected President. The attempt by feudal and clerical reaction to restore their influence in the country, which turned into a mutiny in the armed forces headed by General Escobar, failed. But it called forth a wave of repressions by Calles' supporters, especially against the Communists. In September 1932, Ortiz Rubio resigned. The new president was Abelardo Rodriguez (1932-1934). Under him the agrarian reforms stopped by his predecessor were further implemented. In 1934, a participant in the Mexican revolution, General Lazaro Cardenas, was elected President. He did not wish to be a puppet in the hands of Calles, who played the part of the "supreme leader". The attempt by Calles and his supporters to remove Cardenas from power met with the resistance of the masses, who gave the President their support.

Having sustained his victory over Calles, Cardenas broadened the implementation of the agrarian reform, helped the hired farm hands and poorest peasants create agricultural cooperatives, and carried out a partial

expropriation of the property of foreign industrialists and domestic monopolists. The railways, sugar factories, printing houses, sawmills, and factories of light industry were nationalised. In many cases, expropriated property was given over to workers' cooperatives. In March 1938, the Cardenas government adopted a decree on the nationalisation of the oil industry, striking a blow to the interests of foreign capital. A state monopoly was introduced on oil extraction. The working class emphatically supported the Cardenas government in its policy of nationalising foreign property. A reactionary revolt which began in May 1938 against the Cardenas government was put down with the help of militia detachments of workers and peasants. The workers, trade-union organisations, and the Communist Party—all supported the progressive measures of Cardenas.

*Cuba.* Cuba suffered heavily from the world economic crisis. The export of sugar—its main crop—was sharply curtailed. A 600,000-strong army of unemployed took shape in the country. The broad masses went hungry. All of this raised the struggle against the reactionary dictatorship of Machado to a new level. Strikes took on an especially broad scope in 1933. The Communist Party and the National Confederation of Workers demanded the creation of a democratic government and resistance to US interference in Cuba's affairs.

It was in such an atmosphere that the US embassy in Havana prepared and carried off a military coup. On August 12, 1933, at the demand of the officers of Havana, Machado tendered his resignation and left the country. The new government of de Céspedes did nothing to improve the working people's situation. On the strength of this; another coup d'état took place in Cuba on September 5, 1933. It was carried out by Sergeant Fulgencio Batista. Professor Grau San Martin, who headed the government, came out with a democratic programme. The Constitution of 1901, pushed on Cuba by the United States, was abrogated. The government introduced the eight-hour working day. The anti-American orientation of the San Martin government's policy prompted the USA to send warships manned by the US Marine Corps to Cuba. In the middle of January 1934, the government of Grau San Martin was overthrown. Receiving the

support of the USA, Batista became the head and, for all intents and purposes, the dictator of Cuba. After that, a regime of military and police terror was established in Cuba.

The penetration of the USA into Cuba's economy increased even more. And although the Platt Amendment<sup>1</sup> was abrogated in 1934, the USA kept Cuba in a dependent position. The country's working people continued to struggle for their vital interests. Workers' strikes and peasant disturbances followed one after another. Repressions brought down by the authorities only intensified the situation. After the elections of 1936, the tension in the country eased up somewhat. Certain democratic freedoms were restored. The Communist Party of Cuba directed much effort towards the creation of a People's Front and the convening of a Constituent Assembly to work out a new democratic constitution. Cuba moved into the ranks of Latin American states with the most active anti-imperialist movement.

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<sup>1</sup> On a proposal made by US Senator Platt, the US Congress pushed on Cuba an agreement which restricted the latter's sovereignty.

Chapter 6  
THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA

I. Japan

*Japan's economic and political situation after World War I.* Japan fought in the First World War on the side of the Entente. During the war Japanese industry flourished and monopoly capital prospered. From 1914 to 1919 the output of the engineering and chemical industry grew sevenfold in terms of cost. The Mitsui and Mitsubishi concerns gained in strength. Among the new monopoly associations the Kuhara concern could be distinguished. No big changes occurred in agriculture. Taking advantage of the wartime situation, the landowners tried to raise the prices of food crops, especially rice. But their influence on economic and political life in the country markedly weakened.

During the war, Japan's foreign expansion intensified, especially in China, and also in India, Indonesia, and the African countries. Japanese goods actively penetrated into the markets of Great Britain, France, and Holland. During the war Japan's exports almost quadrupled. Japanese imperialism even set its sights on the wealth in the Far East of Russia. On April 5, 1918, Japan sent its troops to the Far Eastern part of Russia in a bid to strangle the Soviet state.

Becoming rich on huge profits abroad the Japanese ruling classes simultaneously and mercilessly exploited their own working masses. While the workers' pay was decreased, food prices rose by 94-100 per cent. The peasant farms declined and were ruined. Approximately 70 per cent of the peasants rented land from the landowners. The situation of the intelligentsia and the urban petty bourgeoisie deteriorated. All this led to the exacerbation of class contradictions.

Inspired by the news of the October Revolution, the popular masses in Japan joined struggle against the oppression of the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie. The part played by the industrial workers in the class struggle was considerably heightened. In 1918 the proletariat numbered 1,410,000 compared with 916,000 in 1913. It responded to the deterioration in its situation by intensifying the strike campaign. In 1917, there were 392 strikes in which 57,300 people took part, and in 1918 417 strikes in which 66,600 people joined. In 1919, there were already 2,388 strikes embracing approximately 335,000 people. Armourers, shipbuilders, metallurgists, miners, and tram workers joined in the strike battles.

The intervention against the Soviet Far East started by the Japanese imperialists only heightened the dissatisfaction of the working masses with the policy of the ruling circles. In the second half of 1918 (August-September) rice riots began in Japan. The Japanese monopolies exported rice, growing fat on the big profits. However, in their own country there was not enough rice for the workers and it was sold at high prices. On August 3, 1918, a spontaneous demonstration of fishermen's wives demanding that rice prices should be cut and its export from Japan stopped, occurred in small port towns and in Kyoto, Osaka, Nagoya, Kobe, and Tokyo, in practice embracing the whole country. Some ten million people joined the movement: workers, peasants, fishermen, and petty bourgeoisie. The participants in the rice riots set fire to rice stores, the houses of the wealthy, raided factories and plants belonging to the capitalists. In Kobe the Suzuki steel mill was set on fire. Sanguinary battles continued there for almost two days.

The authorities, using troops, put down the mass actions. Severe repressions were employed against the participants in the rice riots. More than eight thousand people were arrested. Many were banished or executed. In the course of the movement the lack of experience and maturity of the Japanese proletariat became obvious. At the same time, the rice riots promoted the further development of the proletarian and democratic movement in Japan. The founder of the Japanese Communist

Party, Sen Katayama, noted that they gave a certain experience to the Japanese proletariat; it learnt a great deal in these first heroic clashes with the Japanese monarchy.

The rice riots frightened the ruling classes in Japan. Therefore, they decided to agree to certain concessions. The government of Tokashi Hara which was formed in September 1918 conducted a series of reforms. On May 25, 1919, according to the new election law, the number of voters increased from 1.5 million to three million. In August the system of colonial administration in Korea and Taiwan underwent a partial reorganisation, and an eight-hour working day was introduced.

The upsurge in the revolutionary movement was accompanied by a growth in the workers' and democratic organisations. In 1919, the positions of the class-conscious elements became stronger in the reformist trade unions, the Fraternal Association. Protesting against the policy of class cooperation, they called it Federative Association of the Trade Unions of Greater Japan. At the same time, the first student organisations appeared and unions of peasant-tenants mushroomed. In April 1922, the Japanese Peasants' Alliance came into being on their basis.

In 1918, illegal socialist circles appeared the members of which studied and disseminated Marxist ideas. In September 1918, the students at Tokyo State University founded the Society of a New Man which set the task of fighting for the liberation of man from any kind of oppression and for social reorganisation in Japan. In 1919, a society to propagandise anarchism among the workers came into being. In December 1920, the Japanese Socialist League was formed. Its members included supporters of anarchism, reformism, and communism. Owing to the extreme variety of the ideological stands of its members, the League did not exist for long (in founding 1921 it disintegrated).

*The crisis of 1920-1921.* The drop in demand for products intended for military consumption led to a sharp decrease in industrial output in Japan. In April and May 1920 several Japanese banks went bankrupt and ceased their operations. The allotment of 120 million yen in aid from state funds did not alleviate the crisis.

Following this, textile production decreased, more than half of the shipyards closed down, and the process of small enterprises being absorbed by bigger ones intensified. Chronic unemployment prevailed in the country. The standard of living of the workers worsened.

The crisis again aggravated the class contradictions. Mass strikes took place at the biggest enterprises. In 1921, strikers at the shipyards in Kobe established control over them. For six weeks they were doggedly fighting for their interests. The government sent troops against the workers, and the strike was put down.

With the exacerbation of class contradictions the petty-bourgeois terrorist elements became more active. They assassinated banker Yasuda (September 28, 1921) and Prime Minister Takashi Hara (November 4, 1921). This was an expression of protest against the offensive of monopoly capital which was causing the ruin of the small producers.

The new Japanese government was headed by the financier Takahashi Korekiyo. He had to get down to settling not only the internal difficulties but also problems arising in foreign policy. By this time Japanese intervention against Soviet Russia and Mongolia had definitely ended in failure. The popular masses and also the soldiers of the interventionist forces demanded that Japan should withdraw from the captured territories. At the same time, the rivalry of the USA and the West European powers with Japan in plundering China intensified. All this complicated the situation for Japanese monopoly capital.

In the second half of 1921 Japan began to recover from the economic crisis, but no noticeable revival was observed in the development of production. Just as before, the living standard of the workers remained low. The left wing of the workers' movement grew stronger. After the Japanese Socialist League ceased to exist, the Society to Awaken the People propagated socialist ideas, an important part in it being played by the metalworker Watanabe.

The growth in the class struggle promoted the dissemination among the vanguard strata of the Japanese proletariat of ideas about the expediency of having their own militant political party. The Japanese representatives

among whom there were Kyuichi Tokuda and Sen Katayama decide at the First Congress of the Peoples of the Far East in Moscow at the beginning of 1922 to found a Communist Party when they returned to their homeland.

On July 15, 1922, a Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of Japan started in Tokyo. Among the participants in the Congress were Katayama, Tokuda, Ichikawa, and Watanabe. The Congress approved the party rules, took a decision on publishing the party newspaper *Akahata* (The Red Banner), and elected a Central Committee. In the programme of the Communist Party of Japan adopted in November 1922 the following slogans were put forward: the abolition of the monarchy and the founding of a democratic republic in Japan, the elimination of the landed estates, the allotment of land to peasants, the introduction of an eight-hour working day and of democratic freedoms. In December 1922, a communist youth organisation came into being in the country.

The setting up of the Communist Party marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of the Japanese working-class movement. The young Communist Party immediately engaged in the campaign for the interests of the popular masses. It helped to boost the movement in protest against Japan's participation in the intervention against the Soviet Far East. The organisation "Hands Off Russia" which came into being in the summer of 1922 arranged numerous rallies to protest against the intervention in Soviet Russia. The workers in Japan also collected money to fight the famine in Russia. On October 25, 1922, the Japanese interventionists were forced to get out of Vladivostok.

The activation of the workers' and democratic movement seriously alarmed the ruling circles in Japan. A new period of repressions began in the country and also persecutions of those who participated in anti-imperialist actions. Back in June 1923 the authorities had already arrested eminent figures in the Communist Party.

On September 1, 1923 devastating earthquake occurred in the central region of Japan, in the towns of Tokyo and Yokohama. The Japanese capital was left in ruins. A hundred and fifty thousand people died as a result of

the earthquake. Many factories collapsed. On September 2, 1923, a new government was formed headed by Admiral Yamamoto Gombei. Instructions were issued on "measures to preserve social security". Under the false pretext of combatting arson and disorderly behaviour the authorities introduced a state of emergency in the country, began mass arrests of those who joined the revolutionary movement and pogroms in Korean quarters. Many left-wing leaders were murdered. These cruel repressions led to the weakening of the workers' organisations. In March 1924 defeatists managed to disband the Communist Party. The new government granted large subsidies to capitalists whose enterprises were destroyed in the earthquake. The restoration work caused an economic revival.

*Japan in the years of temporary stabilisation of capitalism.* Industry and trade in Japan began to recover in the mid-1920s. The level of industrial output by 1926 had exceeded the pre-war indices. There was noticeable development in heavy industry as well, especially in the branches involved in arms production. The monopolisation of production and capital continued. However, capitalist stabilisation in Japan was quite short-lived. Already in 1927, signs of economic decline were evident. Competition from other imperialist powers and an anti-Japanese boycott in China was conducive to the fall of production in Japan. As a result, many industrial enterprises in Japan were only working at 75 to 80 per cent of their load.

Some changes took place in political life in Japan. On June 11, 1924, a government was formed headed by Takaakira Kato, the leader of the party the Society of Constitutional Rule. The new administration announced the beginning of an era of reforms. In 1925, the parliament enacted a new franchise law, which introduced universal suffrage for men, thus increasing the electorate from three million to 13 million. Women were not granted suffrage. With the help of this law, the bourgeoisie, which had grown stronger, fortifying its positions in the state apparatus and ousting the military and feudal circles. Besides this the authorities hoped to take the edge off the class struggle in the country somewhat.

Another means of combating the revolutionary move-

ment was the law on the protection of public order passed in 1925. In accordance with this law, police control was introduced over the activities of workers' organisations, the strike campaign was limited, and those who belonged to revolutionary organisations were persecuted. Kato's government began to work out an agrarian reform to promote the development of capitalist relations in the countryside.

In foreign policy the government took an important positive step when it established normal diplomatic relations between Japan and the USSR in January 1925. At the same time an agreement was reached on the evacuation of Japanese forces from Northern Sakhalin and its return to the Soviet Union. Kato's government conducted manoeuvres both in home and foreign policy.

The situation of the working masses in the years of stabilisation remained a grave one. By 1928 the army of unemployed had reached a million. The peasant masses continued to be impoverished and ruined. Terror and manoeuvres on the part of the authorities caused certain confusion in the workers' and democratic organisations. At its congress in March 1925 the Japanese Federation of Labour supported the governmental law on the protection of public order and began to expel left-wingers and whole trade union organisations from its ranks. In this connection, the left wing in the trade union movement formed an independent organisation, the Council of Trade Unions, on May 25, 1925.

A complicated situation arose in the communist movement. The disbandment of the Communist Party by the opportunists was not approved by the Marxist elements who wanted the Party restored. At a meeting of Japanese Communists at the beginning of 1925, the liquidator deviation in the Party was condemned. In December 1926, the Communists had their Third Congress at which the Communist Party was restored. After this, the Marxist core of the Party gave a rebuff to the sectarian elements. In December 1927, Watanabe was elected General Secretary of the Party.

In March 1926 a Workers' and Peasants' Party headed by left-wing elements was organised in Japan. The Party campaigned for an 8-hour working day, for the introduction of social insurance, for the repeal of the

reactionary laws, and the extension of democratic rights. Together with the Communist Party it actively protested against the Japanese interventionist policy in China. In February 1928, the Workers' and Peasants' Party took part in the elections to parliament.

In the face of the growing workers' and anti-imperialist movement, the ruling circles in Japan decided to put a strong government in power. It was formed by General Giichi Tanaka, president of the bourgeois-landowner party, Society of Political Friends. The new government pursued a policy of crushing the workers' and democratic movement in the country, preparing Japan for a war against China and the USSR, and also against rival countries. On March 15, 1928 the authorities made mass arrests of the members of the Communist Party, the Workers' and Peasants' Party, the trade unions, and the peasant and youth organisations. In October 1928 Watanabe was killed during a clash with the police. Tanaka introduced the death penalty for membership of the Communist Party. In April 1928 the Workers' and Peasants' Party was dissolved, as well as the Council of Trade Unions, and the Proletarian Youth League. The membership of the Communist Party and other organisations of the workers fell. But its members continued to fight reaction and the aggressive policy of the country's ruling circles in the difficult underground conditions.

In its foreign policy the Tanaka government became more vigorous in its aggressive acts against China. On May 28, 1927, a Japanese expeditionary corps was sent to China and occupied the province of Shandong. The boycott of Japanese goods which started in China had hit the industrialists. Tanaka was forced to recall the occupation units back to Japan. But this did not mean that the government had given up its aggressive policy. A memorial to the Emperor of Japan outlined a programme for the seizure of areas in China, Mongolia, and the Soviet Far East by the Japanese. In 1928 Tanaka again sent Japanese forces to Shandong.

*Japan, the first Second World War theatre.* In the spring of 1927 signs of the economic crisis became evident in Japan, earlier than in the other capitalist countries. The ruin of a number of small and medium-size banks led to a "bank panic". The depositors all rushed

to withdraw their savings from the banks. This time, too, the government came to the aid of private capital. The state bank provided a subsidy of more than 2,000 million yen all in all as an extraordinary contribution to the banks and enterprises which were in dire straits. But the crisis continued to grow. Approximately half of the enterprises in the mining and heavy industries had to cut their operations by 1931. The prices of rice, silk, and agricultural raw materials fell. By the end of 1931 the number of unemployed and semi-unemployed had reached 3 million. On average wages had dropped by 13 per cent. The average annual income of the peasants decreased from 700 yen to 135 yen. The situation of other strata of the population also deteriorated.

The exacerbation of the class contradictions was manifest in the growing strike campaign, the movement of the unemployed, and the peasant unrest. In 1929, there were 1,420 labour conflicts in Japan and in 1931, 2,456 conflicts. The strikes were accompanied by clashes with police and strikebreakers. The League set up by the unemployed staged mass demonstrations.

As the crisis developed, opposition to the Tanaka government grew. On July 2, 1929, it was replaced by the government of Yuko Hamaguchi, a representative of the Genuine Party of Political Friends formed on June 1, 1927. The new cabinet championed a severe economy. The budget was cut, civil servants' pay was cut and the onslaught on the working class intensified. To overcome the crisis, the government helped to implement the capitalist rationalisation of industry. However, all these measures were insufficient to pull the country out of the crisis.

Then the ruling circles of Japan decided to set foot on the path of political adventures. On September 18, 1931, the Japanese forces invaded Manchuria, which attracted them by its wealth and its strategic position as a bridgehead for aggression against China, Mongolia, and the USSR. In December 1931, a government was formed by Ki Tsuyoshi Inukai, a representative of the Society of Political Friends. This reflected the increasing influence of the military circles in the country's political life. By the summer of 1932 Manchuria was already in the power of the Japanese invaders. The aggressor continued to advance on

other regions of China. Thus, Japan created the first big hotbed of the Second World War.

In the years of the crisis fascism began to spread rapidly in Japan. On May 15, 1932, the fascist organisation, Young Officers, made an attempt at a coup d'état with the purpose of establishing a military-fascist dictatorship. During this attempt the Prime Minister Inukai was killed. Owing to the rivalry among the different reactionary groupings this plot ended in failure. The new government was headed by Admiral Makoto Saito who manoeuvred between the military fascist circles and right-wing bourgeois parliamentary forces.

The gathering danger of fascism was manifest in the new repressions against the Communists and other democrats in Japan. The Japanese Communist Party, which resolutely protested against the seizure of Manchuria, was subject to particularly severe persecution by the authorities. In July 1931, the trial began of 43 leading figures in the Communist Party. In the autumn of 1932 a series of arrests took place among the Communists. All in all, from 1929 to 1933 50,000 people were arrested. The arrests weakened the Communist Party.

Continuing its war in China, Japan came up against resistance on the part of the Chinese people. All peace-loving forces resolutely condemned the Japanese aggression. In connection with the condemnation by the League of Nations of Japan's seizure of Manchuria, Japan left that organisation on March 27, 1933. The internal situation in Japan deteriorated. In January 1934, Sadao Araki who was particularly known as a warmonger was forced to leave his post as Minister of War which he had occupied since 1931. However, the Young Officers, close to him, began to think up a new plot.

The elections to the Japanese parliament which were held on February 20, 1936, gave the majority to the candidates who had taken anti-war positions. Among those elected there were 18 deputies of the Social-Democratic Party which was represented in parliament for the first time. The outcome of the elections dealt a blow at the plans of the military. Then, on February 26, the group of the Young Officers with two thousand soldiers again made an attempt at a coup d'état. The conspirators occupied vital strategic points in the capital. However, the greater

part of the military units and the fleet refused to support them. After the mutiny was put down, seventeen of its leaders were shot.

The cabinet of Koki Hirota which was formed after this intensified Japan's preparations for a big war. In 1936, Japan concluded an "anti-Comintern pact" with Germany. But the anti-war opposition was still strong. In the April 1937 elections, the Social Democrats, who campaigned against war, won 37 seats. As in other countries, the Japanese Communists called for an anti-war and anti-fascist popular front. The idea gained a fairly large following, and contributed to the success of the Social Democrats in the 1936 and 1937 elections.

In June 1937, a government was formed in Japan headed by Prince Fumimaro Konoye who tried to reconcile the militarists with the "moderates". Both the former and the latter he promised an easy victory in the Japanese-Chinese war. On July 7, 1937, Japan began big aggressive operations against China. The main bourgeois-landowner parties and also the leaders of the Social-Democrats rendered assistance to Konoye's government in this war. The government immediately clamped down on the opposition. In March 1938, parliament approved the law "On the Universal Mobilisation of the Nation". This law envisaged the militarisation of the economy, the establishment of extremely strict censorship, and the banning of opposition activities. Participation in the movement of a united popular front was a criminal offense. Such organisations as, for example, the Society to Study Materialism, were banned, and their leaders arrested. By March 1938, 10,000 people had been arrested.

Not meeting any resistance on the part of the Western imperialist powers to its aggressive war in China, Japan made an attempt to extend its expansion. In the summer of 1938, it attacked Soviet territory in the region of Lake Khasan but its troops were repulsed by Red Army units. A year later Japanese forces invaded Mongolia near Khal-kha River but were routed by Soviet and Mongolian troops. After this, Japan decided to occupy a position of "neutrality" with regard to the USSR.

In January 1939, Konoye's government was replaced by the cabinet of Kiichiro Hiranuma who had become extremely active in putting into effect the law "On the

Universal Mobilisation of the Nation". Acting in the interests of the biggest monopolies, he pursued a policy of compulsorily shutting down petty and middle-size production. The economic police set up by him stripped petty and middle-size producers of their raw materials and equipment. In spite of these severe repressions, the strikes and anti-war demonstrations did not cease even amongst the soldiers in China. But the ruling circles in the main suppressed the opposition and continued the fascistisation of the country, having prepared for serious military clashes.

## 2. China

*Growth of the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement in China.* On the eve of the First World War, China was a typical semi-colony under the boot of the imperialist powers, especially Great Britain, the United States and Japan. Foreign capital controlled the main branches of its economy. In the first two decades of the 20th century the share of industrial output in China's gross national income was no more than 20 per cent. Artisans and manufacturing enterprises predominated. Primitive agriculture was the main occupation of the Chinese people, in which up to 80 per cent of the country's population was engaged. Approximately four-fifths of the families had no land at all or very little. Exorbitant ground rent prevailed in the countryside. The ruling class were feudal lords who owned the main mass of the land. This was a most reactionary exploiter class.

Acute social contradictions prevailed between most of the nation, on the one hand, and foreign imperialism and the local feudal lords, on the other. On this basis a revolutionary, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist liberation movement of the Chinese people was growing and developing. The peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie comprised the main mass force of this movement. The young working class which numbered approximately 2.5 million (less than one per cent of the population) became an increasingly active champion of national and social liberation. The trading and industrial national bourgeoisie whose rights were encroached upon by foreign capital, and the feudal landowners were also drawn into the liberation

struggle. But the bourgeoisie did not act in a consistent manner. Fearing the popular masses, it agreed to compromises with foreign capital and local reaction and to concessions to them, betraying the revolutionary movement.

During the First World War the ties between the imperialist powers in Europe and the USA with China were weakened. This did to a certain extent promote the development of Chinese industry and correspondingly, the growth of the national bourgeoisie and the working class. However, Japanese imperialism intensified its penetration into China, which led to the exacerbation not only of inter-imperialist contradictions but also of the intestine strife among the military cliques in China itself. In the north of the country (Beijing) the group of general Duan Qirui ruled which was orientated on Japan. The Zhili clique (in the province of Hebei), supported by Great Britain and USA, and the Mukden clique of Zhang Zuolong (Manchuria) which acted as an agent for Japan were waging a struggle for power in the country against this group. Only in Canton (Guangzhou) was a national government formed headed by the democrat and leader of the Kuomintang party Sun Yatsen. The republican national forces who were interested in uniting China, and in the elimination of foreign and feudal oppression in the country grouped around this government. Canton became an important centre of the liberation struggle of the Chinese people.

Under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution there was a powerful upsurge of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement. The direct cause for the revolutionary protests were the decisions of the Paris Peace Conference on handing over to Japan the former German possessions in the Chinese province of Shandong. When they learned of this, students in Beijing organised a mass anti-imperialist demonstration on May 4, 1919. The troops of General Duan Qirui opened fire on the demonstrators. This demonstration was the beginning of the Fourth of May Movement which embraced various strata of the population in many of the country's towns and cities.

The working class rose in political struggles. Political strikes were staged by the workers in Shanghai, Nanjing,

Tianjin, Hangzhou, Wuhan and other cities. The artisans and merchants joined the movement. The population announced a boycott of Japanese goods. As a result, the Beijing government refused to sign the Versailles treaty and dismissed the pro-Japanese higher officials.

The growth of the revolutionary movement witnessed the increased organisation and awareness of the Chinese working class. In 1919 trade unions emerged in China. Then communist circles began to be set up. The first communist circle in China emerged in Shanghai in May 1920.

The activity of those who attended these circles laid the ground for the foundation of the Communist Party of China. On July 1, 1921, the First Congress of the Chinese Communists started at which the foundation of the Communist Party of China was proclaimed. The activity of the Party began amidst the continuing growth of the national liberation and class struggle. In January 1922 a big strike of Chinese sailors began in Hongkong which soon became a general strike. Protesting against the arbitrary rule of the Hongkong authorities, more than 100,000 workers left the Crown Colony. In the long run, the resolute stand of the striking seamen yielded results: their wages were raised and their trade union legalised. With the labour movement active all over China, the workers became better organised. In May 1922, the first All-China Congress of Trade Unions gathered in Guangzhou (Canton), leading to the unification of the labour movement on the scale of the country.

In February 1923, the workers of the Beijing-Hankou Railway started a major political strike in protest against the violence unleashed by the ruling classes and, in particular, against warlord Wu Peifu's ban of a railwaymen's union. The strike was brutally suppressed, with dozens of workers killed and hundreds wounded. Thereafter, the strike movement declined.

China's democratic and revolutionary forces led by the Guomindang and the Communist Party of China gravitated ever more towards the idea of a united national front. Sun Yatsen came forward with a platform that could well have united all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal groups. His three people's principles — nationalism, democracy, and people's welfare — were complemented by three new

political principles inspired by the October Revolution in Russia: alliance with Soviet Russia, alliance with the Communist Party in China, and reliance on the workers and peasants.

An important step closer to a united anti-imperialist front was made at the Third Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in June 1923. It called for cooperation between the CPC and the Guomingdang, and for the admission of Communists to the Guomingdang, while the CPC would retain political and organisational independence. The resolutions of that Congress eased and speeded up the emergence of a united CPC and GMD front. In January 1924, the Guomingdang held its First All-China Congress with the participation of the Communist Party. It adopted the GMD Rules and a revolutionary programme based on Sun Yatsen's three people's principles and three political principles. The Congress resolved that Communists would be admitted to the GMD as individuals. Representatives of the CPC were elected to the Central Executive Yuan of the Guomingdang. A revolutionary bloc came into being, consisting of the working class, the peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. This was a major gain for the anti-imperialist forces of China.

Canton, the seat of the Guomingdang leadership and the Sun Yatsen government, became a centre of the national liberation movement. The foreign imperialists and the Chinese reactionaries, alarmed by the growth of the revolution and consolidation of the national forces, began to get ready for a counter-revolutionary mutiny. Thirty thousand mutineers rose with arms in hand, on October 10, 1924, against the Sun Yatsen government. Fierce battles were fought in the streets of Canton for five days. At the appeal of the Communists, the workers of Canton repulsed the mutineers, and retained control of the revolutionary base.

The events in Canton prompted the Chinese revolutionaries to be more active in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary and pro-imperialist forces. From February to May 1925 detachments of the revolutionary army of Canton launched the first eastern campaign against the troops of warlord Chen Jiongming, freeing a considerable part of the province of Guangdong.

*The national liberation revolution of 1925-1927.* In the latter half of the 1920s the mass revolutionary movement entered a new stage. The start was given by the developments in Shanghai. Many foremost workers were murdered at Japanese-owned factories. In response to this the students of Shanghai staged an anti-imperialist demonstration on May 30, 1925. The Anglo-American police opened fire on them. A general national strike was called in Shanghai in which over 200,000 people took part. The events of May 30, 1925, are regarded as the beginning of the national liberation, anti-imperialist revolution.

Workers in other towns and regions followed suit. The general strike that was called in Hongkong on June 19, 1925, under communist leadership, lasted for sixteen months. A mass demonstration was held in Canton on June 23. The mass of peasants, too, began joining the movement.

The Canton government took steps to extend the revolutionary areas. In October 1925, its national revolutionary army started one more eastern march, which was successful. But a differentiation began among Guomingdang members. When the warlords put down the general workers' strike in Shanghai in the autumn of 1925, the right-wing members of the Guomingdang set about breaking up the united front. After Sun Yatsen's death in March 1925, the Guomingdang General Chiang Kaishek who was chief-of-staff of the national revolutionary army advanced to the forefront. On March 20, 1926, he attempted a counter-revolutionary coup. He began to arrest Communists or to expel them from the Guomingdang, while his supporters occupied key points in Canton. But this time Chiang Kaishek failed to attain all his goals.

In July 1926, a campaign of the national revolutionary army was launched to the country's north for the purpose of further expanding the revolutionary base. In the autumn of 1926 the army reached the Yangzi. In December 1926 the Guomingdang government moved its base from Canton to Wuhan. The agrarian revolution of peasants followed in the wake of the national revolutionary army. The workers began to act more vigorously, the strength and prestige of the Communist Party grew. The ranks of the Guomingdang, too, increased, with part of the

big bourgeoisie and other reactionaries proclaiming themselves "revolutionaries" and joining up.

In March 1927, the national revolutionary army entered Shanghai and reached Nanjing. At that time the foreign imperialists had decided to interfere openly in China's internal affairs. On March 24, 1927, US and British gunboats shelled Nanjing. Five days later, Chiang Kaishek went aboard the American ship *Pittsburg* and discussed the plan of a counter-revolutionary coup with Admiral Williams. On April 12, 1927, units loyal to Chiang Kaishek attacked workers' organisations in Shanghai and started an indiscriminate slaughter of Communists. In the course of 1927, as many as 13,000 people were shot out of hand, and 35,000 were thrown into prison. Communists were also arrested and executed in Beijing. At the end of April 1927, one of the organisers and leaders of the Communist Party of China, Li Dazhao, was executed. On April 18, 1927, a "national government" was formed in Nanjing under Chiang Kaishek.

Thus, the national bourgeoisie in the person of the right wing of the Guomindang broke up the united anti-imperialist front and went over to the counter-revolutionary camp. For some time, the left-wing members of Guomindang continued to retain the bloc with the Communists in the Wuhan government. But the fear that an extensive agrarian revolution was about to break out and also the pressure exerted by the reactionary forces prompted the left-wing members of the Guomindang as well to go over to the counter-revolutionary camp. In May 1927, generals of the Wuhan army began to go over to the side of Chiang Kaishek. On July 15, 1927, the head of government Wang Jingwei began to attack the Communists. The left wing of the Guomindang came to terms with the reactionary side. The Chinese revolution suffered a temporary defeat. It showed the instability of the national bourgeoisie, its fear of the popular masses.

After the counter-revolutionary coup, the Communists believed that the situation could be easily and quickly remedied. This mood led to the armed uprisings in a number of places. On August 1, 1927, military units (30,000 men) led by Communists staged an uprising in Nanchang. The birth of the Red Army of China is associated with that day. The uprising was isolated from the mass move-

ment and was put down. In the autumn and winter of 1927, soldiers' protests and peasant revolts took place in a number of provinces which have gone down in history as "the uprisings of the autumn harvest".

Revolutionary protests also occurred in towns and cities. In Canton workers and part of the soldiers led by the Communists staged an armed uprising on December 11, 1927. They proclaimed the foundation of the Canton commune and formed a Soviet government. The rebels adopted a decree on the formation of the Red Army, abolition of landowners' estates and transfer of the land to the peasants, on the introduction of an eight-hour working day, repeal of the unequal treaties and nationalisation of the property of foreign firms. The organisational weakness of the uprising, the lack of links between it and the peasant movement, and the fact that it was outnumbered by the forces of reaction doomed the rebels to defeat. On December 14, the Canton commune was suppressed. Thousands of workers were shot. During the suppression of the uprising counter-revolutionary gangs raided the Soviet consulate in Canton, killing five of its staff. The uprisings in 1927 were the last sparks of the defeated revolution of 1925-1927.

*A new stage in the development of the Chinese revolution.* After the defeat of the 1925-1927 revolution, a military bureaucratic dictatorship of big bourgeoisie and landowners was established, while the country continued to be enslaved by foreign imperialism. The condition of the working masses continued to deteriorate. A new stage in the Chinese revolution developed. The motive forces of the revolutionary struggle at this stage were the working class, the peasantry, the urban poor, and part of the urban petty bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisie was in the camp of the counterrevolution. The working class and its communist vanguard headed the liberation movement. The revolutionary forces were faced with the task of firmly uniting the workers' and peasants' movement.

At the beginning of the 1930s liberated or, as they were called at that time, Soviet areas sprang up in China. On November 7, 1931, in the town of Ruijing (Jiangxi province) the First Congress of the representatives of the Soviet areas of China began. Laws were passed by it on land, on labour, on the principles of economic policy, and

a provisional central government of the Chinese Soviet Republic was set up. The proclamation by the congress of the abolition of big landed estates and their distribution among peasants, the nationalisation of foreign enterprises and banks, and the introduction of workers' control at private capitalist enterprises — all this was of great importance for the revolution.

The Guomingdang government headed by Chiang Kai-shek applied great efforts to crush the revolutionary bases. At the end of 1930 Chiang Kaishek organised the first campaign of a 100,000-strong army against the popular forces. In February and July 1931 and in June 1932 the second, third, and fourth marches of the Guomingdang were undertaken, and they suffered defeat owing to the heroic resistance put up by the Red Army. However, the fifth campaign, undertaken by Chiang Kaishek in 1933, ended in defeat for the Red Army of China. It was forced to withdraw from the Soviet areas to the northwest, covering nearly 12,000 kilometres (the Great March).

In 1931, the Chinese people fell victim to the undisguised aggression of Japanese imperialism. Japanese troops occupied the northeastern part of China (Manchuria). In January 1932, they began an assault on Shanghai. The Guomingdang government which was engaged in campaigns against revolutionary bases, surrendered one position after another to the Japanese. However, the workers and other strata of the urban population rose to defend Shanghai. Together with part of the government forces, they repulsed the Japanese aggressors, after which the latter abandoned their intention of seizing Shanghai. The united front movement gained strength in the mid-1930s. On December 9, 1935, students in Beijing went into the streets demanding that the Guomingdang cease the civil war. Guomingdang troops opened fire on the demonstration, and the students held a still more powerful demonstration on December 16, which was just as brutally suppressed by the GMD police and troops. Workers, peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie, and part of the national bourgeoisie took action in various parts of China to back up the students.

In the circumstances, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China set the objective of winning

the national bourgeoisie for the united anti-Japanese front idea. This was done in December 1935. But Chiang Kaishek's ingrained anti-communism was an insuperable hindrance to unity. His posture even caused unrest among GMD troops in Xian. And when Chiang came there in December 1936 to persuade his armies to go into the field against the people's armies, the soldiers mutinied and took him captive. This created a situation fraught with the danger of a further build-up of the civil war. The Communist Party of China reacted by advising the rebellious soldiers to release Chiang Kaishek. Ultimately, Chiang was set free after promising that he would halt the civil war. This outcome of the Xian incident speeded up the emergence of a united anti-Japanese front.

On July 7, 1937, Japan started to extend its aggressive activities in China calculating on seizing the main centres in the country in a short time. Soon after the beginning of the new stage in the Japanese aggression, the Communist Party of China appealed to the people to start a nationwide war against the invaders and proposed that the Guomingdang conclude an agreement with the Communists on joint anti-Japanese armed struggle. In September 1937, Chiang accepted the proposal of the Communist Party. As a result, a united national anti-Japanese front was formed. The non-aggression treaty signed by the USSR and the Chinese Republic on August 21, 1937, was of great help to the national forces of China.

After the united front had been set up, units of the Red Army of China were reorganised into people's revolutionary armies and fought against the Japanese invaders. In September 1937, the 8th Route (people's liberation) Army defeated the Japanese troops in the region of the Pingxingguan mountain pass. Liberated areas began to appear in the enemy's rear, among them the Shansi-Chahar-Hebei liberated area. In 1938, a New 4th Army was formed in East China from units of the Red Army. In that year a partisan base came into being in South China in the province of Guangdong. The Soviet Union supplied China with a large amount of weapons, ammunition and equipment.

At the end of 1938 the situation in China had become more acute. The supporters of the Guomingdang increasingly feared the people's armies, surrendered their posi-

tions to the Japanese one after another and set about provocations against the liberated areas. They besieged the special frontier area of the Shensi-Gansu-Ningxia, attacked the 8th Route Army, and entered into secret negotiations with the Japanese on joint "struggle against communism". All this did great harm and held down the struggle against the Japanese invaders.

### 3. Korea

Korea was a Japanese colony with a semi-feudal social arrangement since 1910. A brutal military and police administration ruled the country. The Japanese seized the best land and exploited the rural population, that is, more than three-quarters of the country's population. Local compradores and big landowners took part in exploiting their less fortunate countrymen. Industrially, Korea was highly backward. The Japanese invested chiefly in ore, coal, and gold mining. It was in mining that the Korean working class came into being.

Under the impact of the October Revolution, the mass of the working people, along with Korea's national forces, began working for national liberation. Fifty strikes took place in 1918, involving more than 6,000 workers. Disaffection also spread among the rural population, the intelligentsia, and the national bourgeoisie. In December 1918, bourgeois nationalists set up an Independence Headquarters in Seoul which issued a declaration of independence. It was read at demonstrations and mass meetings on March 1 in Seoul. Mass actions grew spontaneously into an anti-Japanese uprising (March-April 1919) in which more than two million people took part. The workers staged political strikes, demonstrations, and armed actions. The peasants attacked Japanese offices, plundered the estates of the hated landowners, and joined in political demonstrations. The national bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia came out with petitions. The urban petty bourgeoisie resorted to methods of boycott. The Japanese imperialists put down the uprising in Korea with extraordinary cruelty. However, workers' strikes did not stop throughout 1919.

After the uprising, limited reforms were conducted in

Korea, the system of administrative government was somewhat amended. Japan promised to grant Korea self-government. The Korean bourgeoisie secured more opportunities for business enterprise. Korean and mixed Korean-Japanese companies began to be founded. The national bourgeoisie evaded any further sharpening of the struggle. True, at the time of the uprising it set up a provisional émigré government in Shanghai headed by Syngman Rhee around which the reactionary émigré circles rallied.

Various organisations appeared in Korea, such as trade unions, peasants', women's and youth organisations, and so forth. In April 1919, a conference of Korean Socialists convened in Vladivostok announced the foundation of the Communist Party, which joined the Comintern. In 1920, the Korean mutual aid society to workers came into being. The strike campaign of the workers continued. In September 1921 there was a general strike of the workers in Pusan. In 1922, strikes were staged in Seoul and other towns. In August 1923 a strike again flared up in Pusan. Besides this the number of peasants' protests was on the increase.

In the years of capitalist stabilisation the exploitation of Korea by the Japanese imperialists increased. Japan began to turn Korea into a bridgehead for a war in Asia and in the Far East. However, in this period, in spite of the repressions by the Japanese authorities, the liberation movement became more active. In April 1924, the All-Korean Workers'-Peasants' Union was founded. In that same month there was an illegal congress of the Communists which again announced the formation of the Communist Party. However, persecution by the authorities and the factional strife led to the Communist Party ceasing its activities in 1928.

In June 1926, there was a mass demonstration in the course of which clashes with the Japanese police occurred. It facilitated the unification of Korea's national forces. In February 1927 the Society of New Actions was formed as the first form of a united front. Workers', peasants', women's, youth, and religious organisations united in it. However, the Society did not exist for long. It disintegrated owing to the repressions by the Japanese and internal strife.

The world economic crisis led to Japan's intensified exploitation of Korea. The peasants, craftsmen and artisans were ruined. Unemployment grew. All this encouraged the working masses to become more active in their struggle. Back in January 1929 a general strike lasting several months began in Vonsan. Soon the workers in other towns joined in the struggle. Peasant uprisings began in the countryside. Students were also caught up in the riots. Everywhere illegal revolutionary alliances emerged.

During the crisis Japan went out of its way to turn Korea at accelerated rates into a bridgehead for attacking China and the USSR. The building of enterprises for military purposes, railways and ports expanded in the country. Metallurgical and power and chemical enterprises mushroomed.

After Japan had seized Manchuria, a new stage began in the liberation movement of the Korean people. In 1931 a partisan movement began to develop. A partisan detachment headed by Kim Il Sung came into being in Manchuria. The armed struggle of the Korean people against Japanese imperialism began. From September 1931 through June 1936 approximately 24,000 clashes between partisans and Japanese were registered in Korea.

In May 1936, the Korean revolutionaries founded the Society of Revival of the Fatherland which became a form of a united front. The society made it its task to abolish the Japanese colonial oppression and create an independent democratic Korean state. Its programme contained demands for transformations in the political, socio-economic and cultural spheres.

From 1937 the military operations of the partisan detachments were transferred to the territory of Korea. In these conditions the Japanese began to encourage the foundation of pro-Japanese organisations among the Korean landowners, the bourgeoisie and young people while intensifying the repressions against the national liberation forces. They tried to impose upon the Koreans their own aggressive policy in Asia.

#### 4. Mongolia

*The people's revolution in Mongolia. The establishment of the Mongolian People's Republic.* Mongolia was one of the most backward countries in Asia. It was a theocratic feudal state dependent on China and Russia. Feudal-serf production relations prevailed in the economy, amounted chiefly to primitive nomadic cattle breeding. Mongolian society consisted of two antagonistic classes, the exploiter feudal lords and the serf arats (herdsman). The latter did not have any rights and were cruelly exploited by the feudal lords.

Foreign commercial and usurious capital held in its hands the internal and foreign trade of Mongolia. There was no factory industry in Mongolia and, consequently, there was no working class. A small number of workers were employed in cottage and semi-cottage enterprises. The feudal lords and foreign colonisers closely cooperated with the Lamaist church, which was represented by numerous monasteries which exploited a considerable part of the population. The spiritual head of the country — Bogdo Gegen — was at the same time the secular head.

The ideas of the Great October Revolution received an extremely wide response in Mongolia and provided a mighty impetus for the national liberation movement of the Mongolian people. The Government of the RSFSR immediately put an end to the predatory imperialist policy of tsarist Russia which had been pursued in Mongolia. It annulled all the unequal and enslaving treaties and agreements imposed on Mongolia by the tsarist government. At the same time, the Soviet state officially recognised Mongolia's independence and expressed the wish to establish equal friendly relations with it.

However, the feudal lords entered into an agreement with the Japanese imperialists, the Chinese militarists and Russian whiteguard counter-revolutionaries to struggle against Soviet Russia. In November 1919, the Chinese warlord Xu Shuzheng, a protégé of the Japanese, seized the residence of Bogdo Gegen and compelled him to renounce Mongolian autonomy. In February 1921, a Russian whiteguard warlord, Baron Ungern, brought Bogdo Gegen to his headquarters, put him back on the throne, and virtually became a dictator.

But Mongolian patriots refused to accept Ungern, and rebelled. An important contribution to the success of the national liberation movement was made by the emergence of a people's revolutionary party, which was organisationally finalised on March 1, 1921. The new party, headed by Sukhe-Bator, began to prepare for armed struggle. The Mongolian revolutionaries established contact with Soviet Russia, sent a delegation to Irkutsk and Moscow, and obtained the backing of the Soviet government against foreign oppressors. The meetings and conversations that Lenin had with the Mongolian revolutionaries who visited Moscow in 1920 and 1921 were decisive for the ideological and organisational consolidation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.

On March 13, 1921, a congress of representatives of the MPRP, partisan units, and arats living in the border areas, created a provisional people's government of Mongolia. On April 10, the Provisional government appealed to the Soviet Republic for aid against the Ungern gangs. The Soviet government complied. Between April and July 1921, joint operations were mounted by Soviet and Mongolian troops against the common enemy. The counter-revolutionary whiteguard gangs were wiped out. The victory of the Mongolian people's revolution is dated July 11, 1921. By its nature and objectives, the Mongolian revolution was anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, and democratic. It developed through two stages: the first, from 1921 to 1940, was general democratic, and the second, which began in the 1940s, was socialist.

After the victory of the people's revolution, the MPRP and the people's authorities set out to democratise government in the centre and locally. The repeal of serfdom and the nationalisation of land was a major event. Important, too, was the Provisional Minor Khural, a consultative body of the people's government convened in October 1921. In 1923 and 1924, elections were held to local administrative bodies.

As the people's government grew stronger, it set out to oust foreign commercial and usury interests from the country's economy. In 1921, the people's government annulled all debts to foreign capitalists. Much attention was devoted to the development of animal husbandry, the cornerstone of the country's

economy. Efforts were also made to advance cultural development.

These crucial acts encountered bitter resistance of lay and clerical feudal lords. In the period from 1922 to 1924, they organised a succession of counter-revolutionary conspiracies against the people's government with the aid and support of imperialist states. But all of them were promptly uncovered.

As concerns foreign policy, People's Mongolia set the course on broader ties and friendship with Soviet Russia. In the autumn of 1921, a Mongolian government delegation headed by Sukhe-Bator came to Moscow and was received by Lenin. On November 5, a treaty of friendship was signed, under which the Soviet Government renounced all privileges flowing from the unequal treaties that Mongolia had signed with Russia's tsarist government. The treaty laid the groundwork for friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and Mongolian peoples.

The democratic changes in the country's economy led to a far-reaching change in the balance of class forces in favour of people's government. Favourable conditions emerged for the extension of the people's revolution. The First Great People's Khural gathered in Ulan Bator on November 1 through 26, 1924. It proclaimed Mongolia a people's republic and adopted its first constitution. The constitution enshrined the birth of a new people's democratic state and, suiting the principles of the MPRP, set the long-term objective of the country's non-capitalist development towards socialism.

*Struggle of the Mongolian people to end feudalism and set the stage for building socialism.* Combatting formidable difficulties, the MPRP and the People's Government mounted a broad offensive against feudalism, which was still economically strong. The feudal judiciary was abolished in 1925, and replaced by a new elective system. Measures were taken to advance the economy. A national currency, the tugrik, was introduced in 1924. This undermined the economic positions of foreign interests. Consumer cooperatives gained strength. Retail trading spread far and wide. To weaken the feudal lords, a new tax law was introduced in 1925, which set differentiated and progressive duties on the estates of the lay feudal lords and the monasteries,

while relieving the poorer arats of taxes and granting tax cuts to state-operated and cooperative farms and enterprises.

The Fifth Great People's Khural (1928) passed the decree on the confiscation of feudal property. By 1932 the confiscation of the property of the feudal lords had in the main been completed. The confiscated livestock and property were handed over to poor people and to state organisations.

The abolition of feudal property undermined the economic base of feudalism radically and assisted in the emergence of the cooperative movement in the country. The arats, who had received livestock confiscated from the feudal lords, began to go over to simple forms of cooperation. The counter-revolutionary forces tried to hinder the country's development. In 1932, feudal reaction backed by Japanese imperialists staged a counter-revolutionary mutiny in the west of the country. But it was promptly suppressed. True, other counterrevolutionary actions occurred.

The foreign trade monopoly imposed by the government in 1930 was of the utmost importance for the country's economic growth. It undermined the economic influence of foreign capital once and for all. In 1932 to 1934, the Mongolian People's Republic was occupied building up the national economy. A number of large enterprises was built with Soviet aid, including a large industrial combine in 1934, which helped mould a national working class. Towards the end of the 1930s, industry had already become a self-sustained branch of the economy and produced something like 20 per cent of the gross national product.

Important steps were taken in animal husbandry. The cattle population increased from 16 million head in 1932 to 21 million in 1934. Cultural development went on apace. Medical services improved. The nation's standard of living rose steadily.

By 1940, the class of feudal exploiters ceased to exist, and economic dependence on foreign capital ended. A new, socialist, mode of production emerged, based on the state sector and cooperatives. This paved the way for the further non-capitalist development of the Mongolian People's Republic, and laid the groundwork for building socialism.

The impressive achievements of the Mongolian people are indissolubly associated with the country's foreign policy of peace, and its friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. In 1939, Japanese imperialists tested the endurance of the Soviet-Mongolian alliance in the Khalkha River (Khalkhin Gol) area. Their troops were resolutely repulsed and routed by the Soviet and Mongolian armed forces.

##### 5. India

*The upsurge of the national liberation movement in India in 1918-1922.* Up to the late 1940s India was a colony of Great Britain. Pumping natural resources out of India, Britain developed such industries as jute, tea, coffee, rubber and coal. The British owned the railways, part of the irrigation system, and many banks. The "management agency" created by them controlled the operations of all kinds of companies. The British colonial administration completely subordinated to itself all political life in India.

The First World War stimulated the development of India's national industry, facilitating its concentration and centralisation. Thus, pig iron and steel were smelted at plants belonging to the Indian firm Tata. In substance, however, India was still an agrarian land with distinct feudal survivals. Only 10.49 per cent of the population was employed in industry in 1921. The British artificially held down the country's industrial development.

Primitive implements predominated in agriculture, with practically no fertilisers being used. Systematic under-nourishment and death from hunger were the lot of many millions of people. In 1918, as many as 13 million died from hunger and a flu epidemic.

Essentially, only members of the Indian bourgeoisie and the class of landowners took part in political affairs. They had their own organisation, among which the Indian National Congress held pre-eminence. It worked at the time for broader participation of Indians in the state machinery, promoted growth of national capital, and campaigned for India's self-government in the framework of the British Empire. Another influential organisation was the Moslem League, which demanded India's self-government within

the Empire. The British backed the chauvinist Hindu organisation, Hindu Mahasabha (Great Union of Hindus), which they incited to oppose the Moslems.

The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia had a telling impact on the rise of the national liberation movement in India. A delegation from India which arrived in Moscow in November 1918 communicated a message saying how they welcomed the Russian revolution. In 1918, large strikes were staged in India by workers in Bombay, Calcutta, and other cities, trade union organisations came into being, and spontaneous peasant revolts began to flare up.

The upswing of the anti-imperialist movement was headed by the Indian bourgeoisie, by the Indian National Congress Party. The leader of the movement was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948), who was a supporter of the extensive mass popular liberation movement, but using solely non-violent means. In the struggle against the British oppression he proposed being guided by the religious philosophical system Satyagraha (insistence on truth) based on renunciation of violence. Gandhi insisted on reforms in India, ardently propagandised the need to overcome the religious strife between the Hindus and the Moslems, spoke in favour of eliminating such a despicable heritage of the past as the caste of "untouchables". Gandhi's teaching corresponded to the ancient traditions of India.

With the liberation movement on the rise, the British authorities started to employ various manoeuvres. In July 1918 they published a report by Secretary of State for India Edwin Samuel Montagu and Viceroy of India Frederick Chelmsford, in which the bill of a new law on the government of India was advanced. The report was received differently by the various strata of the national forces. The right wing of the National Congress supported it and even left the Congress, forming the Liberal Federation which set about cooperating with the British. The majority of people in the Congress headed by Gandhi opposed the new law on the government of India. On March 12 in Lahore and on March 13, 1919, in Delhi big anti-British rallies and demonstrations were held. There were also clashes with the police.

Seeing that the struggle was growing more acute, the

British authorities increasingly used repressions to combat the participants in the anti-imperialist protest. On March 18, 1919, they approved the so-called Rowlatt bill which considerably extended the rights of the police.

Its enactment made the situation in the country even more acute. Gandhi called for a general strike to protest against it. On March 30, 1919, mass anti-imperialist rallies and demonstrations had already begun. In a number of places they ended in clashes with the police. In the town of Amritsar in the Punjab events acquired a militant and tragic character. On April 13, when a huge crowd gathered in an empty lot, British troops commanded by Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer blocked off the exit from the square and opened fire without warning. Approximately two thousand people were killed, even more were wounded, many of them fatally. In the following days the British continued to commit excesses in the streets of Amritsar.

The slaughter in Amritsar only intensified the indignation of the Indian people. Anti-British protest swept the whole of the Punjab. There were also riots in Ahmadabad, Delhi, Calcutta, and other towns and cities. A Khilafat movement started among the Moslems who protested against the intentions of Great Britain to suppress the struggle of Turkey and Afghanistan for their sovereignty. At the same time, the Khilafat Party protested against British oppression in India. All this fortified the anti-British front of the Hindus and Moslems.

At the height of the anti-imperialist movement in December 1919 the British authorities passed a new law on the government of India. According to this law, the legislative power in India remained in the hands of the British Viceroy (governor-general), while the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly had deliberative rights. The Indian bourgeoisie and landowners had an increased representation on these bodies. Thus, under this law, only five million of the 320-million population of India enjoyed the franchise.

The enactment of the law on the government of India did not make the anti-British campaign any less vigorous. The protests of the working class took on increasingly organised forms. On January 2 through February 5, 1920, there was a general strike of textile workers in Bombay;

on February 24, a strike of metalworkers began in Jamsedpur, and in May a strike of textile workers in Ahmadabad. In the autumn of 1920 the first session of the All-India Trade Union Congress was held in Bombay. At that time, the first communist groups were taking shape in the country.

The idea put forward by Gandhi on conducting a mass campaign of civil disobedience received extensive support. The civil disobedience campaign in which millions of Indians took part, began on August 1, 1920.

The economic crisis that began early in 1921 tended to worsen the situation in the country still further. The entrepreneurs (both British and Indian) began to cut the workers' wages, which intensified the strike campaign embracing many industrial sectors.

The peasants also waged a dogged struggle. In the United Provinces they created the Eka (Unity) organisation which demanded that rent terms should be made easier, and began to raid and set fire to the landowners' estates. There was peasant unrest in Punjab and Madras province. In a number of places the peasants held conferences where those attending substantiated their own demands. In August 1921, an uprising of Moslem tenants in the Malabar district of the Madras province began in the course of which a Khilafat republic was proclaimed. Six months later the British suppressed this rebellion with extreme cruelty.

In the Punjab in 1921 the struggle was joined by the Sikhs, particularly the Akali, a Sikh sect. The British authorities sent the police and the troops against the Akali but their movement continued up to 1924, until they won some concessions.

The indignation at the British oppressors was especially pronounced during the visit to India of the heir to the British throne, the Prince of Wales. On November 17, 1921, the workers of Bombay and Calcutta called a general strike, raised barricades, and became involved in clashes with the police. More and more frequently the protest of the masses went beyond the framework of the non-violent acts recommended by the National Congress. In February 1922, in the little country town of Chauri-Chaura the police fired on a peaceful demonstration. Then the participants in the demonstration, armed with sticks,

forced the police to flee and set fire to those who hid in the police station. Twenty-two policemen died. These events evoked tremendous agitation in India. However, at the suggestion of Gandhi the Executive Committee of the National Congress announced at the session in Bardoli on February 12, 1922, that the campaign of civil disobedience was finished. Not all members of the Congress were in agreement with this decision.

*India in the years of capitalist stabilisation.* In the period of the stabilisation of capitalism the British authorities carried out a rationalisation of production in India and stepped up the protectionist policy. A 1927 Act encouraged the development in India of the iron-and-steel industry.

Capitalist rationalisation aggravated the exploitation of the working class. Strikes erupted in retaliation, and the organisation and class consciousness of the India proletariat increased. The Communist Party was founded in 1925, and the All-India Workers' and Peasants' Party in 1928. The membership of the All-India Trade Union Congress went up (to 189,000 in 1929). The authorities persecuted members of the Communist Party, the Workers' and Peasants' Party, and the trade unions. Many of their leaders were arrested and put on trial.

In spite of the relative decline in the national liberation movement, in the second half of the 1920s the left wing gained in strength in the Indian National Congress. It was headed by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. Nehru tended to favour a more radical programme. In December 1927, at a congress of the Indian National Congress in Lahore the attainment of "swaraj", i.e., independence, was pronounced to be the goal of the Party.

On the threshold of the new conflict with the national forces of India the British authorities created a royal commission headed by Lord John Simon to work out a new Indian Constitution. There was not a single Indian on this commission. This news evoked a storm of indignation in India. The members of the Congress Party decided to boycott the Simon Commission. When the Simon Commission arrived in Bombay on February 3, 1928, India met it with demonstrations of protest and a boycott of British goods. At a 100,000-strong demonstration of the workers of Calcutta in December 1928 the

demand for India's complete independence was put forward.

*India during the world economic crisis and on the eve of the Second World War.* The world economic crisis hit India's economy hard. It led to a drop in the prices of agricultural produce, to a decrease in the sown area, to the loss of land by the peasants, to the growth of their debts and to impoverishment. Large-scale famine swept the country. The crisis led to the wholesale ruin of the artisans, some of the middle and petty capitalists, having intensified the concentration and centralisation of production and capital and creating monopolies. Many strata of the working population were in a difficult situation. The workers' wages fell, and the peasants were ruined. A numerous army (up to 40 million) of completely and partially unemployed appeared.

In the years of the crisis the class contradictions and the differences between the British exploiters and the Indian national forces further exacerbated. Consequently, the workers, peasants and other strata of the population started to campaign for their social and national rights. The British authorities, conducting a policy of repressions, began the trial in the town of Meerut of 33 members of the Workers' and Peasants' Party and of the trade unions on March 20, 1929. The Meerut trial continued for almost four years. The court sentenced them to hard labour for three to twelve years.

In the years of the crisis the National Congress became more active. On January 26, 1930, a resolution was adopted by it on the campaign for independence and the first Day of Independence in India was conducted. The text of an oath on the fight for independence in the country was worked out and it was decided to read it every year on the 26th of January at mass events. On the appeal of Mahatma Gandhi, the Salt March began on March 12, 1930, and concomitantly a new campaign of civil disobedience. In a number of places the campaign of civil disobedience turned into armed demonstrations. On April 18, 1930, the terrorist organisation, the Republican Army, seized an arsenal in Chittagong. On April 20, an uprising began in Peshawar. The authorities had difficulty in putting down the uprisings in Chittagong and Peshawar. In May, they arrested more than 60,000 people,

including Gandhi and many other members of the Congress.

But the anti-British protest continued to grow. From May 8 to May 16 there was a rebellion in Sholapur. Guerrilla warfare swept the entire Northwestern Province. Regions of the United Provinces, the province of Punjab and some principalities were also engulfed in peasant disturbances.

Amidst gathering revolution negotiations began in Delhi in February 1931, between Mahatma Gandhi and the British Viceroy Lord Irwin. On March 5, 1931, they signed the Delhi Pact, according to which the British cancelled the emergency laws and fines, ceased the trials of the participants in the campaign against the British salt monopoly, and agreed to discuss the proposals of the Indian National Congress on a Constitution at a round-table conference. In its turn, the Indian National Congress called off the campaign of civil disobedience and also the anti-British boycott, pledged itself not to offer resistance to the authorities and not to hold hostile demonstrations.

In 1931, Gandhi attended the round-table conference in London. The British imposed on India a reactionary election law which divided up all the electorate of India according to religion and social class. Gandhi, who was not satisfied with the results of the round-table conference and also with the fact that the British had not honoured their obligations with regard to the Delhi Pact, announced a new campaign of civil disobedience which began in January 1932 and continued until April 1934. In the course of this campaign there were uprisings in the principality of Kashmir (1931-1933) and in the principality of Alwar (1934). But the campaign failed to spread.

However, the difficult position of the working masses forced them to continue the struggle for their own vital interests. The number of strikes continued to increase. The workers' protests in Bombay and Calcutta were militant ones. Almost half of the strikes ended in victory for the workers. Mass peasant protests continued in Bihar, the United Provinces, Punjab, and Bengal. The peasants went on hunger marches during which they advanced their demands for land and bread.

The national movement also embraced the principalities of which there were about six hundred. A movement to

restrict the rights of the princes and to introduce a democratic regime got under way there. At the request of the princes, the British authorities sent troops into the principalities to put down the people's protests.

On the eve of the Second World War conditions in India became increasingly suitable for abolishing the colonial oppression of Great Britain.

In August 1935 the Parliament of Great Britain passed a new law on the government of India (Constitution). This law envisaged making India a federation of provinces and principalities and granted the provinces a degree of autonomy. However, the British governor-general and governors of provinces still retained supreme power. The number of the electorate to the provincial legislative assemblies increased to 14 per cent of the entire population of India. Ministries, which were responsible to the legislative assemblies, were set up in the provinces. Representatives of the provinces and principalities were members of the all-India legislative bodies. Approximately one-third of the seats in the legislative assembly were obtained by representatives appointed by the princes. Even more seats were provided for the princes in the Council of State (the upper chamber). Thus, the new Constitution was an extremely moderate one and kept India completely dependent on Britain just as before. The National Congress and the Moslem League opposed the Constitution.

In 1936-1937, elections to the legislative assemblies of the provinces were held. The Congress attained success in most of the provinces. Governments headed by members of the Indian National Congress were formed in eight out of the eleven provinces.

On the eve of the Second World War the Congress governments in the provinces carried out a series of progressive measures. Political prisoners were released from prison. The terms of land tenancy were eased. It was made easier to set up trade unions, and the system of primary education was expanded.

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## 6. Countries in South-East Asia

*Indonesia.* Indonesia which was a colony of the Netherlands was also subjected to exploitation by the monopolies of Great Britain, France, the USA, Belgium, and Italy. The main branches of the economy in the country were under the control of foreign capital. A considerable part of the cultivated land also belonged to foreign owners.

During the First World War the Indonesian bourgeoisie set up several enterprises in the food and light industries but in the post-war years these enterprises began to decline, unable to withstand the competition of foreign goods. On the whole, the national bourgeoisie was a weak political and social force. In Indonesia there was a considerable stratum of Chinese, among them a sizable group of traders, usurers and petty entrepreneurs. This category of inhabitants in the country acted as intermediaries for foreign companies. The feudal lords were a buttress of the foreign oppressors, many of them working for the Dutch authorities and creating a stratum of bureaucrats and civil servants.

The main mass of Indonesian society, the peasants, lived in conditions of feudal dependence on the local and foreign landowners, and a patriarchal clan system persisted among the peasantry in some places. Approximately one-third of the farming population was employed on seasonal work by the local planters and wealthy

people. The farmhands formed the main part of the local proletariat. The number of industrial workers was small, most of them working at foreign-owned enterprises.

Indonesia's own, although small, intelligentsia which took an anti-imperialist stand was formed from among the petty bourgeoisie in Indonesia. On the eve of the First World War the first national organisations appeared in the country. They worked to get reforms introduced in Indonesia and foreign imperialist oppression restricted and eliminated.

A congress of the Islamic Alliance (Sarekat Islam) in September and at the beginning of October 1918 put forward the idea of creating a national authority. Soon after the congress, on November 16, 1918, a mass organisation, Radicale Concentratie (the Radical Concentration) came into being, which included the Islamic Alliance, the Social-Democratic Association, and other organisations. On the initiative of the Islamic Alliance, a federation of trade unions (the Unity of the Workers' Movement) was founded in December 1919.

The impact of revolutionary ideas, especially the events in Russia, was reflected in the gathering strength of the left wing in the Social-Democratic Association. The right-wing Social-Democrats quit the Association, and in the autumn of 1917 founded the Indies' Social-Democratic Party. The left-wing Social-Democrats continued to help in boosting trade union membership and organising strikes. In 1919, a strike was staged by the workers at sugar enterprises in Indonesia. At the end of 1919 no less than 40,000 peasants took part in an uprising in Western Java. Peasant unrest swept through other regions in the country, too.

On May 23, 1920, the Indonesian Communist Party was formed on the basis of the Social-Democratic Association.

Soon after the founding of the Indonesian Communist Party the right-wing elements caused a split in the Federation of Trade Unions and in the Islamic Alliance. In December 1921 a number of sections of the Islamic Alliance left it and founded the People's Alliance (Sarekat Rakjat).

The Dutch colonial authorities began to increase the

repressions and resort to all kinds of provocations and terror in order to suppress the resistance of the national forces of Indonesia. In 1925, they outlawed the Communist Party and the People's Alliance.

The Communist Party pursued a policy of armed rebellion in response to the authorities' policy of repression. This began in Java on November 12, 1926, and then at the beginning of 1927 it spread to Sumatra. But the poorly armed rebels were soon routed by detachments of Dutch troops. Thousands of Communists were thrown into prison or banished, and many were executed. After this the national liberation struggle waned.

Bourgeois elements came to the fore more and more in anti-imperialist movement. On July 4, 1927, a Nationalist Party of Indonesia was founded, headed by Ahmed Sukarno. The Party's main goal was the attainment of independence for the country.

The Dutch authorities began to persecute the Party, and in December 1929 it was outlawed. In April 1931 the leaders of the Nationalist Party, after announcing its dissolution, founded the Party of Indonesia (Partai Indonesia) which took over the programme of the Nationalist Party of Indonesia.

At the beginning of the 1930s the anti-imperialist movement began to revive. The Communist Party regained vigour.

In February 1933 a mutiny broke out on the Dutch battleship *The Seven Provinces*, in which both Indonesian and Dutch sailors took part. The authorities cruelly put down the sailors' mutiny. After this, it became much more difficult for the national organisations to operate. At the end of 1933 the Party of Indonesia disbanded itself.

In the mid-1930s the national forces in Indonesia increasingly recognised the growing danger of another world war and the threat to the country posed by the Japanese aggressors. The Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party advanced the task of creating a united anti-imperialist front. In 1937 a legal party, the Indonesian People's Movement (Gerindo), was formed. A year later a number of political organisations united into the Indonesian Political Union. In December

1939 this Union held the All-Indonesia People's Congress. This was a form of people's front which championed the establishment of national democratic rule in Indonesia.

*Indochina.* Indochina (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia) was part of the French colonial empire at that time. Foreign colonialists pumped raw materials out of Indochina, and shipped in manufactured goods and capital. The mass of the population, the peasants, were badly oppressed by French planters, the Catholic Church, and native landowners. At French enterprises (sawmills, brick factories, rice refineries, silk spinneries, and furniture factories) there emerged an industrial proletariat. The national bourgeoisie was weak and confined itself to commerce only for many years. The first national industrial enterprises did not appear until the First World War.

An anti-imperialist movement gained strength in Indochina after the war ended. The workers took part in anti-French actions. In 1918, a people's rebellion broke out in Laos. Workers started spontaneous actions in some Vietnamese cities. In 1922, the struggle was joined by coolies on rubber plantations, workers at dye and textile mills, and by railwaymen.

The upsurge of the anti-imperialist movement helped the national forces to become better organised. In 1923, the New Vietnam Revolutionary Youth Association was formed. Subsequently the first communist groups appeared. In 1924, the national bourgeoisie set up a Constitutional Party which demanded reforms. In June 1925, Ho Chi Minh (Nguyen Ai Quoc) set up the Revolutionary Youth League of Vietnam. This was the first Indochinese Marxist organisation. The petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, civil servants, and teachers joined the Revolutionary Party of Vietnam (June 1926). This Party worked for Vietnam's independence, founding of a republic and abolition of landed estates.

In the face of the growing liberation movement, the French colonialists made a number of concessions to the Indochinese bourgeoisie and landowners. In 1926, a Vietnamese Bank was opened, the representation of the bourgeoisie in the Colonial Council was extended, and Franco-Indochinese companies came into being. In this connection, part of the native bourgeoisie agreed to

cooperate with the French authorities. The petty and middle bourgeoisie, however, did not.

In the latter half of the 1920s and the early 30s, the working-class movement gained vigour. On February 3, 1930, the Communist Party of Vietnam was founded at a conference of communist organisations in Hongkong. In October of that year it was renamed the Communist Party of Indochina. Ho Chi Minh was its founder and leader.

Owing to the worldwide economic crisis of 1929-1933, the class battles in Indochina grew ever sharper. The Vietnamese Nationalist Party (founded in 1927) started an armed uprising in Fort Yienbai in February 1930. The uprising spread in due course to many other parts of the country. But the colonialists wasted no time to suppress it, and to wipe out the Nationalist Party. Thereafter, leadership in the national liberation movement passed into the hands of the Communist Party. Peasant mutinies took place in June 1930. The peasants requisitioned rice from landowners and usurers, burned their land contracts, and refused to pay the ground tax. In September 1930, the Communists organised a big rising in Central Vietnam. Large in scale, it was highlighted by a massive involvement of the people. The rebels set up people's councils and started an agrarian reform. Workers, too, were involved. Armed self-defence units were formed. And for all of nine months, the councils (often called Soviets) exercised full power in a number of rural areas. In the long run, the colonialists meted out brutal reprisals. The Communists had no choice but to go underground.

In the mid-1930s, the Communist Party was highly active in building a united national anti-imperialist front. A democratic front came into being in 1937, consisting of the Communist and Socialist parties, and a few other organisations. It set itself the goal of securing democratic freedoms for the peoples of Indochina, and uniting national forces against the menace of Japanese aggression. The Democratic Front achieved quite definite success in the 1937-1938 elections. After the collapse of the Popular Front in France, however, the colonial authorities mounted an attack on the Democratic Front. They drove the Communist Party underground again, and arrested many of the participants in the liberation movement.

*Burma.* A Buddhist Youth Association operated in the British colony of Burma on the eve of the First World War. Within its framework, the Young Burma group demanded reforms. In 1920, the General Council of Burmese Associations was set up, which demanded home rule for Burma.

After the war the working class also began to act vigorously, especially the oilmen. The Burmese peasantry was an important factor in the national liberation struggle. There was considerable peasant unrest from 1930 to 1932 when the peasants demanded that the exorbitant taxes should be abolished and that they should be permitted free use of the forests. Having put down the uprising, the British authorities were forced to introduce a few reforms. In 1935, they passed a law on the government of Burma which envisaged the holding of limited elections and the establishment (only on paper) of a parliamentary system. Burma seceded from India of which it had been a part until that time. But this law did not satisfy the national forces.

At the beginning of the 1930s an organisation of the patriotically minded Burmese young people Dobama Sinyetha Asiayone (the Our Burma Association) came into being. Its members called themselves Thakins, which means lords, owners of their country. The Thakins demanded complete independence for Burma. Adherents of socialist and Marxist ideas appeared in their midst. The Thakins greatly helped to develop trade unions and peasant alliances and to disseminate Marxist ideas.

In 1938-1939, a mass anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement was launched in Burma. The country was swept by a wave of general political strikes. In December 1938 there was a "hunger march" of the oilmen on the capital of Burma, Rangoon. They were joined by other detachments of the working class, students, schoolchildren, the urban poor, and the peasants. The Thakins took an active part in these protests. The authorities crushed the movement by means of repressions, arrests, and massacres. In the course of the struggle organisations of the working masses came into being. In January 1939, an All-Burma Peasants' Association was set up. On August 15, 1939, the left Marxist forces proclaimed the

formation of the Communist Party of Burma. The All-Burma Trade Union Congress was founded in 1940.

*Malaya.* Malaya, which had become a colony of Great Britain by 1909, was of vital strategic significance for the metropolitan country. The production of rubber and tin which formed the bedrock of the Malayan economy brought the British enormous profits. The sultans and Moslem clergy served as a prop for the British colonialists in governing Malaya and exploiting its population. The British also skilfully used to their own ends the national strife among the Malayans, Chinese, and Indians. The representatives of the two latter nationalities, especially the Chinese, comprised the local bourgeoisie. In Malaya a fairly numerous working class had taken shape which became the main force of the national liberation movement.

After the First World War ended, the local Chinese communities formed branches of the Guomindang, and then an organisation of the workers' and peasants' movement. The class consciousness of the workers increased. In 1928 they staged a general strike.

The Communist Party of Malaya came into being in July 1931 setting the task of gaining complete liberation from colonial oppression for Malaya. The authorities immediately banned the Communist Party. But it continued to fight and played an important part in the general strike of May 1934. At the congress of the Communist Party of Malaya in 1935 a programme was adopted in which the idea of creating a united anti-imperialist front was put forward and the founding of a Democratic Republic of Malaya was demanded.

The 1930s were marked by a strengthening of the strike movement of Malaya's working class, by the increased activity of the Guomindang and by the appearance of Indian and Malayan national organisations. The Communist Party of Malaya increased its influence in the anti-imperialist organisations.

*The Philippines.* The Philippines, which were a colony of the United States of America, were subjected to merciless exploitation by the American monopolies. During the First World War, the USA promised to grant the Philippines independence, and gave the franchise to literate males.

In the post-war period a peasant movement developed in the Philippines, and a National Confederation of Farm Tenants and Labourers was formed. In 1923, a big peasant rebellion flared up on the island of Mindanao. By that time, the working class had been drawn into the political struggle. In 1924, the Philippine Labour Party came into being, which was the forerunner of the Communist Party.

Spontaneous armed peasant rising occurred during the worldwide economic crisis in the province of Pangasinan. The communist movement developed rapidly. On November 7, 1930, the Communist Party of the Philippines was founded. The American authorities outlawed and arrested many Communists.

On March 24, 1934, the USA passed a law on the independence and autonomy of the Philippines. According to this law, the country was to receive its independence ten years later. In 1935, a Constitution was adopted. Although they had made these concessions, the American colonialists retained complete control over the Philippines' economy.

In the period of autonomy, peasant risings occurred, and workers' strikes gained in number. The influence of the Communists increased. A united national anti-Japanese front emerged at the end of 1939, consisting of the Communist Party, the trade unions, and peasant and petty-bourgeois organisations.

*Thailand.* Siam (as Thailand was called before 1939) was formally an independent state, but was in fact controlled by the imperialist powers, especially Great Britain and France. By the 1920s the rice-processing, mining, wood-working, and rubber industries had developed in Siam. But, on the whole, it was a backward, feudal country. Eighty-nine per cent of its population were engaged in agriculture. The big landowners and bureaucrats dominated on the country's political scene and the king drew support from them. Foreign capital established its control over tin mining, timber production, foreign trade, and transport.

As the national liberation movement gained in strength in the colonial countries, in 1925 the imperialist powers abolished the unequal treaties with Siam. But this act did not satisfy the national forces. On June 24, 1932, under

the leadership of the left wing of the People's Party, an organisation of the national bourgeoisie, a bourgeois revolution began. The leaders of the uprising advanced demands for agrarian transformations in the country, the development of the national industry, culture, science, and technology. With the help of the army the People's Party staged a coup d'état, compelling the king to remove the biggest landowners from power and give the country a constitution. The outcome of the revolution was that Siam became a constitutional monarchic bourgeois state.

The government of Phya Mano-Pakorn, which came to power in 1933, began to eradicate the vestiges of feudalism and colonialism. In 1936, the treaties with foreign states which restricted Siam's independence were annulled. Equal treaties were concluded, the development of national capital was encouraged and the activity of foreign companies was limited. National armed forces began to be developed.

After the revolution in Siam an organised workers' movement emerged, trade unions and small Marxist groups appeared, and strikes began to be organised. At the end of the 1930s the influence of the right-wing bourgeois nationalist circles in the country's political life began to increase. At the end of 1938, with the support of these circles, a military grouping came to power. The army's top brass intensified chauvinist propaganda, advancing the idea of creating a great Thai state. Consequently, Siam was renamed Thailand. Its ruling circles began to gravitate towards an alliance with the fascist powers, hoping to seize territory in French Indochina with their support.

## 7. Countries of the Middle East

After the First World War, under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution a mighty upsurge of the anti-imperialist movement occurred in the countries of the Middle East (Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, Iraq and others). As a result of this, the positions of the national and patriotic forces in this region were considerably fortified.

*A bourgeois-national revolution in Turkey.* At the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918, the Turkish people rose in a revolutionary liberation effort: disturbances occurred in the cities, the peasants set up guerrilla detachments, and soldiers threw down their arms, not wishing to fight. The Turkish Government, having signed the Brest Peace Treaty with Soviet Russia, failed to observe it. Turkish troops occupied a number of regions in Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, and captured Baku, an important industrial centre of the Caucasus. However, revolutionary events frustrated the expansionist designs of Turkish reaction. At the same time, Turkey suffered a military defeat in the First World War. Turkey lost the Arab lands and was occupied by British, French, Italian, and Greek forces. The Turkish people spontaneously rose against the foreign invaders. Former soldiers began to organise guerrilla detachments, which started to operate in Cilicia in January 1919. The workers and peasants actively joined in the liberation struggle. The movement was led by the national, mainly commercial, bourgeoisie headed by General Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk).

On May 15, 1919, with the consent and encouragement of Great Britain, the Greek forces began to seize territories belonging to Turkey. This led to a fresh upsurge in the anti-imperialist movement. In many towns and cities in the country there were stormy rallies and demonstrations. In August and September 1919, a leading centre, the Representative Committee headed by Mustafa Kemal was set up. This committee was the embryo of the bourgeois-revolutionary government. On April 23, 1920, Kemal's supporters convened the Grand National Assembly in Ankara and formed a government headed by Kemal.

The National Assembly submitted a proposal on joint struggle against foreign imperialism to the Soviet Government. Soviet Russia readily responded to this proposal, recognised the government of Kemal and on June 3, 1920, established diplomatic relations with it.

The foreign imperialists tried to suppress the bourgeois national revolution with the help of Turkey's reactionaries headed by the Sultan. But the troops sent by the Sultan against the Kemalists were defeated by guerrillas.

In June 1920, Greece began military operations against the Kemalists. But the national forces of Turkey were able to repel the interventionists. In the summer of 1920 the Kemal government set about building up its own armed forces. The peasants' guerrilla detachments continued to operate actively. In the towns and cities more and more socialist groups and trade unions were coming into being. In June 1920, the Communist Party of Turkey was formed from the various groups.

The growing involvement of the mass of the people struck fear into Kemal government. It launched an offensive against the workers' and peasants' movement. Measures were taken to annihilate the guerrilla detachments. The heads of the progressive organisations of the working people were thrown into prison. In January 1921, Mustafa Subhi and 14 other leading members of the Communist Party of Turkey were brutally murdered by Turkish gendarmerie. On January 20, 1921, the nationalists passed the Law on Basic Organisations (a temporary Constitution) which legislatively asserted their domination in the country.

In its campaign against the foreign intervention Turkey relied on moral and material aid from Soviet Russia. In March 1921, a Treaty of Friendship and Fraternity was signed by Turkey and the Soviet state. The Turkish national-revolutionary forces set up a regular army and repelled the foreign interventionists. In September 1922, the Greek troops were finally routed, and Turkey restored its independence.

After the Anglo-Greek intervention had failed, the Grand National Assembly abolished the sultanate by a decree of November 1, 1922. To consolidate the forces of his own supporters, in April 1923 Mustafa Kemal founded the People's Party, which was later renamed the People's Republican Party.

When the Lausanne Peace Treaty was signed by the Entente powers and Turkey on July 24, 1923, the imperialist powers officially recognised the independence of the Turkish national state.

Thus, a bourgeois national revolution occurred in the course of the national liberation movement in Turkey, which was a prime factor in the country's further develop-

ment. It created the requisite conditions for turning Turkey into an independent state.

After the revolution, Turkey began to develop along capitalist lines. Its government began to provide incentives to private Turkish capital. At the same time, it invested state capital in railways, industry, and other branches of the economy (this policy is known as *etatism*).

On October 29, 1923, Turkey was proclaimed a republic. Mustafa Kemal Pasha became its first president and remained in that post until his death in 1938. On April 20, 1924, the first republican Constitution was adopted in Turkey which legislatively confirmed the attainments of the bourgeois revolution and abolished the sultanate and the caliphate. Other important reforms were also carried out.

The reforms were carried out amidst the tussle among the national bourgeoisie and the big landowners, the higher clergy and the compradores. At the beginning of 1925 Sheikh Said instigated a reactionary rebellion in the Diyarbakir region. In subsequent years, the reactionary opposition managed to stage other rebellions, like the one in Menemen (Western Anatolia), for example, in 1930.

In the latter half of the 1930s, the government set about raising crop yields and making agriculture marketable. In 1934, it set in motion a five-year plan, which envisaged construction of a number of state-owned enterprises, chiefly for producing consumer goods. The state bought up most of the foreign concessions, namely, the railways and mines. New railway construction projects were started.

Industrial growth saw a growth of the working class. In 1936, Turkish Parliament passed a Labour Act, which introduced an eight-hour working day, a weekly day off, paid leaves, and a modicum of social insurance. But the Act prohibited strikes. The bad working conditions and low wages, however, compelled the workers to take class action. Tobacco workers went on strike in the suburbs of Stamboul, with miners, dockers, seamen, tramway workers, textile workers, and others, also going on strike. The Communist Party continued to function despite brutal reprisals. In 1937, the Kurds rebelled against the national oppression of the Turkish ruling elite. Their rising was not quelled until eighteen months later.

After the death of Atatürk in 1938, Ismet İnönü became president. The latter promised to pursue a policy in accordance with the principles of Atatürk. However, in actual fact a rightward shift came into evidence more and more among the ruling circles of Turkey. On the eve of the Second World War the government of Turkey joined in the preparations for war, put the country's economy on a war footing, and began mass purchases of materiel abroad, increasingly moving away from the policy of friendship with the USSR.

*The national liberation movement in Iran.* Turkey's neighbour Iran, too, was engulfed by a national liberation movement. Although Iran had declared neutrality during the First World War, it was occupied by the British. They did not stand on ceremony and did what they wished in the country, stripping it of the last vestiges of independence. The ruling Qajar dynasty, with Ahmed Shah at its head, depended on the foreign invaders, and its policies were ruinous for the mass of the people. The imperialist and feudal oppression caused extensive disaffection among workers, peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie, and the intelligentsia.

Following the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet government roundly condemned Russia's previous expansionist policy in relation to Iran, and annulled the 1907 Anglo-Russian and other similar agreements that were contrary to Iran's independence and sovereignty.

Influenced by the revolutionary events in Russia, the national liberation movement in the country became more vigorous. The workers set up trade unions, and staged strikes and demonstrations. In a number of places Soviets (councils) emerged and a partisan movement began to develop.

The British colonialists attempted to suppress any kind of resistance to foreign dominion in Iran and turn it into a bridgehead for an anti-Soviet intervention. At the beginning of 1918 they began to occupy the entire territory of Iran.

But the people of Iran resisted. A democratic national rising erupted in Tabriz, in the Azerbaijan province of Iran, in April 1920. The rebels demanded restoration of national independence, the proclamation of a republic, democratic reforms, and autonomy for Iranian Azer-

baijan. The rebellion was put down jointly by the Shah's troops and local counterrevolutionaries in the autumn of 1920.

The biggest of all the actions of that time was the national liberation uprising in Ghilan province under bourgeois nationalist Kuchik Khan. In June 1920, Ghilan was declared a Soviet republic. The Iranian Communist Party was founded during that rebellion. The Communists were made members of the Ghilan government.

Though suppressed at the end of 1921, the national liberation movement in Ghilan had a strong influence on the course of events in the rest of Iran. Seeing the instability of the Qajar dynasty, the British backed the bourgeois landowners' opposition in a coup d'état. On February 21, 1921, the rule of the feudal nobility was eliminated in a coup under Reza Khan, and replaced by that of a bourgeois and landowners bloc strongly influenced by the national bourgeoisie.

The new Iranian government mounted an offensive against the revolutionary movement, but made certain concessions to the nationalist forces. A Soviet-Iranian Treaty which assured Iran's independence, was signed on February 26, 1921.

The coup d'état in Iran failed to halt the revolutionary movement. An uprising erupted in Khurasan in the summer of 1921. The rebels demanded the withdrawal of the British, restoration of the country's independence, convocation of a Majlis, and introduction of bourgeois democratic freedoms. The Khurasan rebellion was essentially quelled by the end of 1921. But some seats of it survived in a few parts of Iran throughout 1922. As a result, the national liberation movement undermined the power of the Qajar dynasty and strengthened the country's national sovereignty. But none of the bourgeois democratic objectives was attained. And though the British failed to turn Iran into a colony, they retained considerable influence there. In the years that followed, a struggle for Iranian oil ensued between British and American monopoly concerns.

Meanwhile, the national bourgeoisie consolidated its positions in the economy and on the political scene. Bowing to its interests, the bourgeois government launched a policy of centralisation, combatting the separatist

inclinations of feudal and semi-feudal elements. A single centralised army was formed, and sent into action to suppress the democratic movement. The armed forces were headed by Reza Shah, whose prestige and authority among the landowners and national capitalists increased steadily. On October 31, 1925, the supporters of Reza Khan in the Majlis adopted a resolution deposing the Qajar dynasty. And on December 12, Reza Khan was declared Shah of Iran. A landowner-bourgeois dictatorship seized control of the country.

Reza Shah suppressed the resistance of some of the tribes and feudal khans, introduced new administrative arrangements, and placed loyal governors-general at the head of the various provinces. Reforms were carried out in the judiciary, and also in culture and the life style.

In the countryside, Reza Shah buttressed the predominance of the landlords. In 1928, he introduced obligatory registration of landed property. Thereupon, he legalised private landownership. All this redoubled the exploitation of the peasants. The peasants of Ghilan, Khurasan and other provinces responded by rebelling. But the government of Iran suppressed the peasant risings brutally, and extensively invoked the death penalty.

To further the growth of national industries, Reza Shah introduced a protectionist policy. The National Bank was founded in 1928. The construction of a number of industrial enterprises was subsidised by the government. Cement, tar, glycerine, sugar refining, cotton ginning, textile, tanning, and tobacco factories were built. Highly important for the economy was the construction of the Trans-Iranian Railway, which cut across the country from north to south.

As Iran's economy developed, its proletariat swelled. Its activity grew. The number of workers in the country was approximately 500,000 by the end of the 1930s. But their condition was exceptionally grave. The lack of labour legislation, the unbearable working conditions for 10 to 18 hours per day, the negligible wages made the Iranian workers struggle for their own vital interests and for the right to organise themselves. In 1929-1931, the workers held a series of big strikes.

The class struggle intertwined with the anti-imperialist movement which was spearheaded against the plunder

of the country's oil resources by Great Britain. On the eve of the Second World War the anti-Soviet trends in Reza Pahlavi's policy became more pronounced. The Iranian government increasingly subjugated its country to fascist Germany, which was preparing a bridgehead there for an attack on the USSR.

*Afghanistan wins independence.* The economy of the British semi-colony Afghanistan was more backward than those of Turkey and Iran. But the national forces did not hesitate to tackle the colonialists and their Afghan menials. The striving of the British protégé, the Emir Habibullah, to increase taxes and take part in an anti-Soviet intervention in Central Asia evoked protest even among the upper ruling circles. In February 1919 a palace revolution was staged, in which Habibullah was killed.

The new emir, Amanullah Khan, who expressed the sentiments of the Young Afghans (a national patriotic movement), proclaimed Afghanistan an independent state, introduced some progressive reforms and issued an act on the introduction of a constitution. The new government also announced its support for the revolutionary movement in India. All these events caused a hostile reaction among the British who began a war against Afghanistan in May 1919. During this war the Afghan troops offered serious resistance to the colonialists. Therefore, after just one month of hostilities the British concluded a preliminary peace treaty with Afghanistan in Rawalpindi and promised to recognise its independence.

The moral and material support rendered by Soviet Russia played an important part in consolidating Afghanistan's independence. On February 28, 1921, a Soviet-Afghan treaty was signed which upheld the independence of Afghanistan and recognised the complete equality of the parties. Following this, Great Britain also recognised Afghanistan as an independent state. Soon Afghanistan concluded friendly treaties with Turkey and Iran. In its home policy Afghanistan carried out a series of progressive measures (centralisation of state administration, banning of the slave trade, regulation of taxes and so forth). The Constitution adopted in 1923 for the first time proclaimed civil rights. The rights of the tribal khans and the clergy were modified. Laws encouraging industry and private ownership of land promoted capitalist relations

and undermined the positions of the feudal lords. However, these reforms did not alleviate the difficult lot of the working masses. The top feudal aristocracy was not satisfied with the reforms either. Prompted by the British, the reactionary forces staged a rebellion in 1928, which led to the downfall of the Young Afghans' government.

In January 1929, after an internecine struggle, the protégé of reaction, Bacha-i-Saqao was placed on the throne. A regime of medieval rightlessness was established under him, the reforms were repealed, the burden of taxes grew, and Soviet-Afghan relations began to deteriorate. But in October 1929 the former war minister in the Amanullah government, Muhammad Nadir overthrew Bacha-i-Saqao and became king of Afghanistan.

In the 1930s a policy of consolidating the positions of the landowners and merchants was pursued in Afghanistan. The upper crust of the commercial bourgeoisie was drawn into the administration of the country. At that same time, certain privileges were restored to the khans and the clergy. All this was reflected in the 1931 Constitution. According to the new fundamental law, a People's Council was instituted which had consultative rights in the sphere of legislation. From an absolute monarchy Afghanistan became a constitutional one. Soviet-Afghan relations again improved and the trade turnover between the two countries grew.

In the 1930s Afghanistan made strides forward in capitalist development. Several light industry enterprises appeared. There were changes in the spheres of culture and education. A literature society, a medical school, and vocational schools were started.

On the eve of the Second World War more and more German and Italian fascist agents penetrated into Afghanistan. Their activities were aimed at undermining Soviet-Afghan relations.

*The national liberation movement in Syria and Lebanon.* Before the First World War, the Arab countries in Western Asia (Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Palestine, and Transjordan) were part of the Osman (Turkish) Empire. After the war, Iraq, Transjordan and Palestine were made mandate territories of Great Britain, while Syria and Lebanon were made mandate territories of France. Only Saudi Arabia and Yemen were formally independent.

The break-up of the Turkish Empire, and the influence of the October Revolution in Russia, furthered the growth of a national liberation movement in the Arab countries. The struggle gained considerable scale in Syria.

The fellahs and nomads from the western regions of the country set about organising guerrilla detachments in November 1918. In May 1919, a rising flared up in Latakia which lasted for more than three years. In the eastern regions of Syria "Arab clubs" came into being. Everywhere the patriotic forces demanded independence for their country. In 1919, bourgeois-feudal circles convened the General Syrian Congress which proclaimed "a state of legal defence" in response to the refusal of the Paris Peace Conference to recognise Syria's independence. Thereupon, a People's National Council was formed from representatives of many towns and regions which set about collecting money and arms for the guerrilla struggle and directed this struggle. In December 1919, the Council announced the setting up of the government of Syria.

But France managed to attract to its side the feudal upper crust headed by Emir Faiçal. The latter signed an agreement with France on making eastern Syria a French protectorate. And in March 1920 Faiçal managed to get himself proclaimed king of Syria. In July 1920, however, French troops began to occupy eastern Syria, and soon entered Damascus. King Faiçal was banished from the country.

The anti-imperialist struggle continued. In August 1920, a peasant uprising began in Hauran province. In 1920, the whole of the northern part of the country was involved in the armed struggle. The Syrian proletariat joined in the political movement more and more actively. It took part in anti-imperialist demonstrations in a number of towns in April 1922. In that same year, the workers held their first strikes. Individual communist groups, operating underground, appeared.

A similar situation took shape in Lebanon which was occupied by Anglo-French troops in October 1918. On September 1, 1920, France declared the establishment of Great Lebanon under its mandate. Supreme power there was in the hands of the French. But from representatives of the Lebanese upper crust an Advisory Administrative Committee was formed. In May 1922, it was replaced

by the elected Representative Council. According to the Constitution of 1926 which was drawn up in France, Lebanon was proclaimed a republic and the Representative Council was transformed into the Chamber of Deputies. But the Constitution did not change Lebanon's dependent status.

The national forces in Lebanon repeatedly rose in struggle against the French colonialists. Thus, in 1924 a big peasant uprising took place in the valley of Bekaa. In 1924, the Syrian Communist Party was founded in Beirut, whose members were Syrian and Lebanese Communists.

During the partial stabilisation of capitalism the national liberation struggle in Syria and Lebanon continued to gain in strength, assuming especially large proportions during the national liberation uprising in Syria in 1925-1927.

The uprising was started by peasants in the mountainous area of Jebel Druze in July 1925. Indignant at the plunder on the part of the French governor, the Druses demanded that he should be replaced. However, the French High Commissioner cynically rejected the demand of the rebels, arrested their leaders, and banished them to the desert. Then the peasants in this province headed by Sheikh Amir Hasan Atrash took up arms. The uprising rapidly spread and embraced thousands of peasants. A Syrian National Revolutionary Army was set up under the command of Amir Hasan Atrash and inflicted serious defeats on the French colonial forces. On October 18, 1925, the rebellion had moved to Damascus, the capital of Syria. The city was soon in the hands of the rebels. In response to this, the French subjected Damascus to heavy artillery shelling during which the city suffered seriously and approximately 25,000 of its inhabitants were killed. Although the guerrillas retreated from Damascus, the French did not manage to gain victory. By the beginning of November 1925, the whole of Syria, with the exception of the big cities, was controlled by the rebels. The rebellion also spread to a number of mountain regions of Lebanon.

Coming up against such serious resistance on the part of the Syrians, the French decided to manoeuvre. They replaced the High Commissioner and started negotiations

with representatives of the Syrian bourgeoisie. The latter, however, demanded that the French mandate should be cancelled. The French then broke off the negotiations, and sent large contingents of troops and materiel to Syria. In April 1926 they launched an offensive against the rebels. The Syrian patriots again resorted to guerrilla tactics and were able to deal a series of telling blows at the French troops. But the superiority of the French forces was very considerable. In June 1927 French troops seized the last centre of rebel resistance, Jebel Druze.

It was only with great difficulty, that the French colonialists managed to suppress the uprising. No longer could they govern Syria as they had done before. Therefore, they were forced to hold elections to a Constituent Assembly in 1928. The latter worked out a constitution and proclaimed Syria a united independent parliamentary republic and refused to recognise the French mandate to govern the country. The French authorities responded by dissolving the Constituent Assembly. In sum, the national uprising of the Syrians showed that the French had no more than a tenuous grip on the country.

In the 1930s, the French carried out a series of measures aimed at consolidating their economic, military, and strategic positions in Syria and Lebanon. In 1934, economic reforms began to be effected. The port of Beirut was modernised, and railways, highways, airfields and oil pipelines were built, and the irrigation system was reconstructed.

The popular masses in Syria and Lebanon did not give up their struggle against French colonial oppression. Just as before, they tried to get the mandate of France over Syria and Lebanon terminated. The refusal of France to satisfy the demands of the Syrians and the Lebanese caused a fresh upsurge in their national liberation movement in 1934-1936. An important new moment in this movement was the active participation in it of the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon which was founded in 1930. The Communist Party proclaimed the tactics of setting up a united working-class and national anti-imperialist front. It facilitated the creation in 1934 of the confederation of trade unions, headed the strike campaign of the workers, organised the peasant masses and waged campaigns in defence of Ethiopia, and against

fascism, Zionism, and the French tobacco monopoly.

At the same time, the forces of the national bourgeoisie continued to consolidate themselves, and in 1934 founded their own political party, the National Bloc. In January 1936 this party held a mass meeting which ended with the adoption of the National Pact. This document contained an appeal to fight for the liberation of Syria from French enslavement, for national freedom, unity, and democracy. The Communists and the other progressive forces supported demands made in the National Pact.

The Popular Front in France helped to promote the success of the national liberation movement in Syria. In March 1936 the French Government agreed to restore Syria's Constitution and begin negotiations with the Syrian delegation on recognition of the country's independence. As a result, on September 9, 1936, a treaty was concluded between France and Syria according to which the latter was to obtain independence in three years' time. France and Syria concluded a military alliance, under which France won the right to use the territory of Syria should there be a threat of war. France signed a similar treaty with Lebanon. In December 1936 a national government was formed in Syria from representatives of the National Bloc party. The Syrian parliament ratified the treaty with France. But the French ruling circles hindered the coming of the treaty into force and in January 1939, when the Popular Front no longer existed, France refused to ratify the treaties with Syria and Lebanon.

News of this called forth a wave of popular indignation in Syria and Lebanon. In February 1939 the Syrian government announced that the French mandate had been annulled. The workers supported this act with a general strike in Damascus in March 1939. Then the French government imposed the military dictatorship of General Maxime Weygand on Syria, abolished the Constitution and dissolved parliament. Simultaneously part of Syria, the Alexandretta sanjak, was handed over to Turkey. At this stage, Syria and Lebanon could still not manage to gain their independence.

*Anti-imperialist actions in Iraq.* Iraq, too, became involved in a struggle for national liberation. During the First World War its territory was occupied by British forces. After the war the economic situation in Iraq was

an exceedingly hard one. The sown area had diminished, and the crafts and industrial enterprises had fallen into decline. There was a shortage of foodstuffs and industrial goods. Price rises, profiteering, famine, and numerous epidemics all had serious consequences for broad strata of the population. In the political sphere the complete domination of the British and their henchmen had been established. The British invaders had striven to attract the feudal compradore upper crust of Iraq to their side.

However, the extensive national patriotic forces took action against the new enslavers. A patriotic society called Guards of Independence was formed among the merchants, intelligentsia, and some feudal lords which came out with a demand for Iraq's complete independence. At the same time, the Iraqi Behest society came into being which united representatives of the feudal and compradore upper crust. It saw as its task the founding of an Iraqi state under the patronage of Great Britain. The future ruler of the country, Nuri Said, began his activities within the framework of this society.

The liberation movement in Iraq drew its main support from Kurdish and Iraqi tribes. In the spring of 1918 in An Najaf and a number of other towns on the middle Euphrates a big rebellion occurred. In May and June 1919 an uprising flared up in the Kurd regions under the leadership of Sheikh Mahmud. In 1920, Bedouin tribes waged an armed struggle. As the anti-imperialist movement gathered in strength, the leaders of the Iraqi Behest convened an Iraqi Congress in the town of Haleb (Syria) and proclaimed Iraq's independence on March 8, 1920. But this act remained on paper.

News that the conference in San Remo in 1920 had sanctioned the decision to establish a British mandate over Iraq caused the anti-imperialist protests in the country to become more vigorous. The Guards of Independence spoke out in favour of preparing for an armed rebellion which began on June 30, 1920 and led to the rapid liberation of almost the whole territory of Iraq. The British sent an army of 150,000 to put down the uprising, and in November 1920 the main forces of the rebels were routed.

After this, the British colonialists took measures to stabilise the situation in Iraq with the help of the feudal

and compradore upper crust. In October 1920 they formed a provisional government of Iraq. On August 23, 1921, Faiçal al-Hashimi who had been banished from Syria by the French was proclaimed king of Iraq. According to an Anglo-Iraqi treaty, British troops continued to be stationed in Iraq. Questions of foreign and financial policy could not be resolved without British counsellors. The latter controlled almost all the country's political and economic life. The indignation of the national forces at the onerous terms of the treaty was so great that it was only ratified in 1924. Soon a constitution worked out in England was imposed on Iraq. Thus, British colonialists took firm control over Iraq. Britain made use of its positions to take under its control all of Iraq's oil wealth first and foremost.

In the second half of the 1920s the campaign against the British mandate and to extend the authority of the national bodies of power continued in Iraq. Kurdistan was embraced by unrest. Anti-British demonstrations kept flaring up in Iraq's towns and cities. In this connection, Britain was forced to renounce the mandate. In 1930 a new Anglo-Iraqi treaty which proclaimed Iraq an independent state linked with Britain by relations of "friendship" and "alliance" was concluded. In spite of this, British domination was still felt in the country. In 1932, when Iraq joined the League of Nations, the mandate was abolished as envisaged in the treaty, and formally Iraq became an independent state.

However, the British retained control over the economy, the state apparatus and foreign trade. They kept their military bases and their troops there. The national forces of Iraq, among whom the working class was playing an increasing part, continued to campaign against the foreign colonialists.

Two peasant rebellions headed by feudal lords were a vivid manifestation of this struggle. The first uprising took place in the spring of 1935 in the provinces of Diwaniyah and Muntafik. The second flared up in the spring of 1936 in the southern regions of Iraq. At the same time, there was unrest in the army and among the Kurdish tribes. The rebels demanded the abolition of the unequal agreements with Britain, the putting into effect of agrarian reforms, the democratisation of the country, and so forth. In the autumn of 1936 the Bagdad garrison staged a coup

d'état and overthrew the pro-imperialist government. Under the new government headed by the leader of the National Reform Party, Hikmet Sulaiman, democratic rights were extended and trade unions were legalised. The labour law passed in 1936 established a nine-hour working day and banned child labour (under 12 years). The government worked out a programme for nationalising transport, means of communication, and irrigation structures; it was planned to construct textile mills and sugar refineries, and to distribute part of the land among the peasants. However, the government lacked unanimity in its actions, and this allowed the imperialist reaction to stage a coup d'état.

In August 1937 the government of Hikmet Sulaiman was overthrown. The new pro-British government was headed by Nuri Said. A reactionary offensive on democracy began under the latter. The trade unions were banned and the Communist Party was routed. But the severe repressions did not break the will of the Iraqi people to struggle for their freedom. Anti-British actions continued.

*Palestine.* During the First World War Palestine, which was under Turkish rule, was occupied by Britain. The British immediately began to oppose the Jewish population on the Arab one. By that time, the Jewish bourgeoisie had been involved in the reactionary nationalist and chauvinist movement, Zionism. Zionism as a movement and an ideology was engendered at the 19th century. At the First World Zionist Congress in Basel in 1897 the World Zionist Organisation was founded. It has as its aim the resettlement of all Jews in Palestine, around Mount Zion (in Jerusalem), and the foundation there of a Jewish state.

On November 2, 1917, in the Balfour declaration the British promised to set up a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. Britain retained its occupation forces in Palestine and in 1920 at the conference in San Remo it received a mandate to govern Palestine. Palestine was in fact turned into a colony of Great Britain. The British High Commissioner concentrated all power in his hands. The "Palestine government" consisting of the British, operated under him. The most important positions in the economy were also in the hands of the British imperialists.

Relying on the Zionist circles, the British began to

encourage Jewish immigration to Palestine. Thus, from 1919 to 1932 alone the number of Jews who had immigrated to Palestine topped one million. The Zionist organisations and associations obtained various concessions, bought up the best land, and drove away the Arab peasants. Twenty-five per cent of the arable lands in Palestine ended up with the Zionist colonisation trusts. Jewish capital joined in the exploitation of Palestine. Capitalist development of a colonial type went ahead in the country. Banks appeared, trade expanded, plantations were set up, transport and other communal services were developed, and military projects were built. The mining and light industries were developed to a certain extent.

Whereas the Zionist bourgeoisie enjoyed certain privileges, the Arab national bourgeoisie was restricted in every way, and everything was done to prevent the development of Arab industry. The colonialists and Zionists attempted to retain the prevailing feudal vestiges in the countryside (mainly among the Arab population). Thus, foreign imperialism and Zionism formed the basis for national hostility between the Arabs and the Jews.

In a situation where the anti-imperialist movement influenced by the Great October Socialist Revolution was becoming increasingly vigorous everywhere in the world, the national liberation movement of the Arab people of Palestine was also activated. In 1919, a Socialist Party of Palestine appeared which was renamed the Communist Party of Palestine in 1921. In 1920-1921, popular uprisings took place in Palestine to protest against the British colonialists and the Zionist bourgeoisie. They were headed by the Arab Palestinian Congress founded in 1920. The rebels demanded that Jewish immigration should cease, that the Arab peasants should be protected by law from having their lands seized, and that a democratic government should be formed with proportional representation of the nationalities.

In August 1929, an anti-colonial rebellion again flared up in Palestine. It was preceded by a clash between Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem. The uprising affected the cities of Jerusalem, Nablus, Haifa, Akka, and Jaffa. Among the slogans popular with the rebels were the following: annulment of the Balfour declaration, cancellation of the British mandate, the granting of national independence

to Palestine, cessation of Zionist immigration and of sale of land to the Zionists. Thousands of volunteers from Transjordan, Syria, and Egypt went to help the Palestinians, fighting against the British troops. By the beginning of September, the British managed to put down the rebellion by using their air force against the rebels.

On October 6, 1930, the British Government published a memorandum from the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, Passfield, in which promises were given that certain concessions would be made to the Arab population of Palestine. However, the Zionists got the British to interpret the memorandum to the advantage of the Zionists in 1931. This sparked off a new surge of the Arab movement. On October 27, 1933, a general strike began in Jaffa, the enterprises, shops and markets were closed, city transport was brought to a halt, and the demonstrators came out into the streets to clash with the police and the troops. Similar protests were widespread in the towns of Jerusalem, Haifa, Nablus, and elsewhere. So, the strike turned into a fresh uprising, in the course of which guerrilla detachments of fellahs and Bedouins were set up which were headed by the peasant Abu Gilda. But this time, again, the British suppressed the revolt, and captured and shot Abu Gilda.

But the anti-colonial and anti-Zionist struggle continued. In April 1936, the Higher Arab Committee (as the Arab Palestinian Congress was called) led a general uprising, which had started in Palestine. Guerrilla warfare swept the land. In October 1936 the British sent William Peel's Royal Commission to Palestine which suggested partitioning the country into three parts, British, Arab, and Jewish. This recommendation evoked tremendous indignation among the Arab population of Palestine and of the other Arab countries. In May 1939, the British were forced to make certain concessions to the Arab population of Palestine, restricting and then halting the Jewish immigration to the country. By the autumn of 1939 the unrest had died down. But this policy led to the aggravation of relations between the British authorities and the Zionists. While the British began to seek support among the Arab feudal circles, the Zionists counted on an alliance with American imperialism.

## Chapter 7

### THE COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES OF AFRICA

*Division of Africa among imperialist powers.* At the turn of the 20th century the peoples of the vast African continent were under the boot of European colonialists. The division of Africa was completed as the 19th century ended. In substance, only two African states were at least formally independent—Ethiopia and Liberia.

The British imperialists controlled a huge African colonial empire. Great Britain had Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria in Western Africa; Kenya, Uganda, and Zanzibar in Eastern Africa; Egypt, Eastern Sudan and Somalia in Northeast Africa; the Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, the Orange Free State, Basutoland, Swaziland, Bechuanaland, Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia in Southern Africa. The area in British hands added up to 9 million sq. km. or to 35 times that of the British Isles. The population in the British colonies in Africa totalled nearly 50 million.

The French colonial empire in Africa had a total area (9 million sq. km.) that was 17 times that of France, with a population of over 40 million. In 1895, the French colonies of Senegal, Sudan, Mauritania, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, and Upper Volta were incorporated into one colony, that of French West Africa. Four other French colonies—Gabon, Middle Congo, Ubangi-Shari and Chad—made up French Equatorial Africa. Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Madagascar, and a few small territories were separate colonies.

Germany's colonial possessions were smaller than those of the British and French. Cameroon, Togo, South-West Africa and Tanganyika were nearly 3 million sq. km. in

area, that is, 5 times greater than Germany itself, with a population of 10 to 15 million.

Italy controlled Eritrea, Somalia, and Libya. Their area was 1.6 million sq. km. and their population was estimated at 1.3 million. Belgium owned the Congo, a wealthy colony that was 100 times greater in area (2.3 million sq. km.) than the metropolitan country; its population was 20 million. Portugal and Spain also owned considerable areas in Africa. Portugal had its old colonies: Portuguese Guinea, the Cape Verde Islands, Angola, Mozambique, and other possessions. Their area was 2.3 million sq. km. and their population 8 to 9 million. Spain controlled the northern part of Morocco, Spanish Guinea, and a few other territories with a total area of 400,000 sq. km. and a population of about 1 million.

The First World War resulted in a partial repartitioning of lands earlier seized by the colonial powers in Africa. The German colonies were handed over to other imperialist powers. Britain got Tanganyika and part of Togo and Cameroon, France—part of Togo and the greater part of Cameroon, Belgium—Ruanda-Urundi, the Union of South Africa—Southwest Africa, Portugal—a small section of German East Africa—Kionga.

The colonialists confiscated a considerable part of the lands belonging to the local peasants. In 1900, 90.4 per cent of the land in Africa belonged to European countries. Consequently, a poignant saying became current in Africa: "When the white men came to Africa they had a Bible, and the Africans had land; now the white men have got the land and the Africans the Bible". Many African tribes were driven into "reservations" and doomed to famine and death. The reservations were, as a rule, situated on infertile lands where there was definitely not enough land to feed the masses of people. In South Africa 25 million hectares of land were used for reservations where half the African population of the Union of South Africa lived, while approximately 95 million hectares of the best lands were handed over to a small number of Europeans. Hunger forced the Africans to go and work in the mines and on the construction sites, toiling for almost nothing for the colonialists.

Thousands upon thousands of the indigenous inhabitants of Africa did hard labour on the plantations and

in mines, or building railways and highways. The Africans supplied the monopoly corporations with rubber and cotton, coconuts and groundnuts, ivory and diamonds, gold and copper, and many other raw materials and natural resources in which the land of Africa is so richly endowed.

The colonialists intensively implanted the one-crop system, forcing the African peasants to cultivate one kind of crop and bought it up for a song. Nigeria produced palm oil, the Gold Coast—cocoa beans, Gambia and Senegal—groundnuts, Egypt and Sudan—cotton, and so forth. The one-crop system made the peasant dependent on the market. Africans bought necessities at high prices from foreign merchants. This doomed them to a semi-hungry, poverty-stricken existence.

In a number of places the colonialists imposed a tax in kind on the population. The Africans were to deliver to the foreign firms ivory, rubber, and fruit almost gratis. This system was widespread in the Belgian Congo, in French Equatorial Africa and in German West Africa. If the Africans refused to deliver the specified products, they were subjected to severe repressions, including the cutting off of hands, arms, legs, and ears. In some cases, Africans were killed or whole families were burned alive. Monstrous violence and abuse awaited the Africans at every step.

The colonialists compelled the local peasants to work a certain number of days on their plantations without being paid. The African tenants were obliged to work more than six months per year on the Europeans' farms. Besides this unpaid forced labour was also widely used. The colonialists demanded from the tribal chieftains that they should supply a certain number of Africans for hard work on the building sites, in the mines, and so forth. Frequently the chieftains made deals with the colonialists. For a small remuneration they sold many of their fellow tribesmen for hard labour. The forced labour was not only unpaid but often the Africans were forced to feed themselves as well. Forced labour led to the extreme exhaustion and premature death of many thousands of Africans. Only few of them lived to regain their freedom, but even those who eventually returned home, were crippled and utterly exhausted. Forced labour, this masked

form of slavery, caused a considerable decrease in the African population.

Thus, the European "civilisers" brought hunger and slavery to Africa, forced labour and caused whole peoples to die out. The foreign monopolies obtained colossal superprofits from plundering Africa and its population. In ten years (1886 to 1895) the Belgian King Leopold obtained 71 million francs in income from exploitation of the Congo. In those years the Congolese population halved from 30 million to 15 million.

The redrawing of the map of Africa after the First World War aggravated the contradictions between foreign imperialism and the national forces in the African countries even more. Owing to this the imperialist victors at the Paris Peace Conference invented a system of mandates for the colonies they had taken away from their rivals. This system did not introduce any principal changes into colonial domination. Nor could it alleviate the contradictions between the peoples of Africa and the colonialists.

After the war Africa's part in the world economy became increasingly important. The imperialist monopolies intensified exploitation of Africa's raw material and mineral resources. At the same time, they hindered the economic, social, and cultural advancement of the African peoples and pursued a policy of pitting certain nationalities or tribes against others, the whites against the coloured population.

At the same time, the objective laws of economic and social development led to a growth of industry, the towns and cities, the construction of ports, railways and highways, undermined the basis of the feudal and pre-feudal relations; a working class and a national bourgeoisie took shape and national and workers' organisations appeared, including communist ones. Individual countries developed unevenly, development being especially intensive in the Union of South Africa, Egypt, and the countries of Maghrib.

New phenomena were observed in the class and anti-imperialist struggle. Such forms of struggle as strikes began to be common in the workers' movement. The peasants who had become involved in capitalist relations left for the towns to do seasonal work, mixed with the

urban workers there, became enlightened and then back in the countryside they made the peasant protests more efficient and politically motivated. The emergent national bourgeoisie and the local intelligentsia also joined the anti-imperialist struggle. They helped to create the mass national organisations. True, these organisations did not, as a rule, as yet advance slogans of struggle for national independence but confined themselves to demanding partial reforms.

Pan-African ideas also gained some currency. In 1919 the first Pan-African congress was held in Paris. It demanded of the organisers of the Paris Peace Conference that Africans should have a part in governing the colonies, protested against the use of slave and forced labour, and so forth. In 1921, 1923, and 1927 the second, third, and fourth Pan-African congresses were convened respectively. They played a definite part in developing the national awareness of the Africans and in uniting the anti-imperialist forces on the continent.

The Africans refused to reconcile themselves to colonial rule, and fought continuously for liberation. In the period between the two world wars the workers' and national liberation movements in Africa rose to a new higher level. Armed battles occurred in the countries of Northern Africa (the rebellions in Egypt, the war of the Riff Republic against the French and Spanish colonisers, the uprisings in Nigeria, Kenya, the Congo, and so forth).

In the years of the partial stabilisation of capitalism the revolutionary struggle in Africa did not wane. Strikes were staged, and there was unrest among the peasants which often took an exceptionally acute form in Libya, Somalia, Morocco, Middle Congo, Angola, Cameroon, Chad, Madagascar, and elsewhere.

The world economic crisis of 1929-1933, which caused the economic situation of the countries in Africa to deteriorate, provided the impetus for fresh protests on the part of the workers, the peasants, and other national forces. The Africans increasingly became involved in the worldwide struggle to combat the danger of fascism and war. This can be seen from their active solidarity with the people of Ethiopia, who were defending themselves against the aggression of the Italian fascist invaders. The peace-loving and internationalist stand taken by the Soviet

Union increasingly influenced the African peoples for they saw in it a consistent defender of their national interests.

The struggle of the African peoples at this stage was making some headway towards independence. Thus, Egypt formally acquired independence. The Africans obtained access, although limited, to the representative institutions in a number of countries. But the African peoples were not able to gain any decisive success in their efforts against the foreign colonialists at that time. The awakening of Africa was underway.

## 1. The Countries of North Africa

The countries of North Africa include Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania, Western Sahara, Melilla, and Ceuta. In the main, they are inhabited by Arabs.

*Egypt.* From 1882 Egypt was in fact a colony of Great Britain, although formally it was part of the Ottoman Empire. From December 1914 Britain officially announced that it had established a protectorate over Egypt. The British colonialists turned Egypt into a cotton plantation and a strategic bridgehead. The key branches of the economy were in the hands of the British. Forty-five per cent of the shares of the Suez Canal Company belonged to them. The foreign banks subjugated to themselves the finance and credit system in Egypt and imposed upon it crushing loans. Having seized the best lands, the British supported the feudal vestiges in the country. The peasantry, who comprised the overwhelming majority of the country's population, suffered from lack of land and the oppression of the colonialists and local feudal lords. Industry, especially national industry, developed slowly. True, in the years of the First World War there was a certain growth in local industrial production. However, the national bourgeoisie remained weak in this sphere. The commercial and usurious bourgeoisie, to which the bourgeoisified landowners were affiliated, was far more powerful. The country's working class was also small. The war caused the contradictions to be exacerbated between the national forces, on the one hand, and

the British colonialists and local reaction, on the other. Extensive strata of the population, embracing the national bourgeoisie, the fellahs and the working class, joined in the anti-imperialist movement. The leading role belonged to the national bourgeoisie, whose eminent figures united into the Wafd political organisation in 1918, which became a party in 1923. The Wafd supporters led the struggle for independence in Egypt and for the abolition of the protectorate established by Britain. But the leaders of the Wafd, including Saad Zaghlul Pasha, were supporters of "peaceful and lawful" means of struggle and feared the revolutionary protests of the masses.

In November 1918, Saad Zaghlul Pasha and other Egyptian leaders demanded that Britain should grant Egypt independence. When the British authorities rejected this demand, the Wafd supporters began a mass movement of protest. At the beginning of March 1919 this movement turned into a big anti-British rebellion. Egypt was swept by demonstrations and strikes. Everywhere the rebels smashed up institutions which were connected with British domination, and demanded that Egypt should be granted complete independence. By the beginning of April 1919 the British had managed to put down this revolutionary protest by means of sanguinary repressions.

After the rebellion in March 1919, the British attempted to make a deal with the nationalists. They sent the Milner mission to Egypt, drew up a draft treaty, which formally abolished the protectorate but continued British occupation of Egyptian territory. All these manoeuvres ended in failure. Then the British reverted to methods of repression against the leaders of the movement. The Egyptian people again responded to this with an uprising in December 1921. In Cairo, Alexandria, and other towns there was hard fighting between the national forces and the British occupation forces. However, this time the uprising enjoyed less active support, especially on the part of the fellahs and Egyptian bourgeoisie, and the British were able to suppress it comparatively rapidly.

The Egyptian proletariat began to play a considerable part in the anti-imperialist movement. Influenced by the October Revolution in Russia, communist and socialist groups came into being (in Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said) in 1918-1919. In 1920, a Socialist Party was set up on

their basis, which was renamed the Communist Party in 1921. In 1922, the Communist Party of Egypt became a member of the Comintern. On its initiative workers began joining trade unions. In 1921, the General Confederation of Labour of Egypt came into being which had a membership of 50 to 60 thousand workers. The increased organisation and awareness of the working class helped to make the anti-imperialist struggle in Egypt more vigorous.

Although the uprisings of 1919 and 1921 were put down, the British could no longer rule Egypt by the methods they had used before. On February 28, 1922, they announced that the protectorate over Egypt had been abolished and proclaimed it "an independent kingdom". However, British troops continued to occupy Egypt just as before, and other signs of British domination persisted in the country. Nevertheless, the granting of independence (albeit *pro forma*) was an important result of the anti-imperialist movement of the Egyptian masses. To preserve their positions in Egypt, the British assisted in setting up a Liberal Constitutional Party, expressing the interests of the landowners and compradore bourgeoisie, at the end of 1922. The new party headed by Adly Yeghen Pasha was in favour of cooperation with the British. In 1923, a Constitution was introduced on the basis of which parliamentary elections took place. The Wafd party had a sweeping victory at the elections and its leader Saad Zaghlul Pasha headed the Egyptian government.

The Wafd party continued to champion the granting of complete independence to the country. Wafd members perpetrated cruel repressions against the workers at the same time. They used troops to suppress the class battles of the workers in Alexandria and in Maasar (near Cairo) in February and March 1924. In 1924, they utterly destroyed the Communist Party and the trade unions. This cut down the mass movement and the social base of their party and allowed the British to interfere in the affairs of Egypt. From 1924 to 1930, the British dissolved the Egyptian parliament four times and changed the government ten times.

In 1924 relations between Britain and Egypt deteriorated owing to Sudan, which was under the joint control

of Britain and Egypt. The Wafd members supported the anti-imperialist movement in Sudan, which greatly irritated the British. In November 1924 the British Governor-General of Sudan, Lee Stack (he was simultaneously commander of the Egyptian army), was killed in Cairo. Britain presented an ultimatum to the Wafd cabinet, demanding, in particular, that Egyptian troops should be withdrawn from Sudan. Zaghlul Pasha rejected this demand. In response to this, the British began military operations against the Egyptian forces in Sudan. The Wafd cabinet was forced to resign. It was replaced by the government of the Union Party, which expressed the interests of the feudal lords. At the beginning of 1928 the British imposed an unequal treaty on Egypt under which Britain retained its troops in Egypt, was in charge of the Egyptian army and appointed British advisers and police chiefs. The refusal of the Egyptian parliament, where the majority belonged to the Wafd party, to ratify this treaty led to a lengthy political crisis and the establishment of the dictatorship of the British High Commissioner in Egypt.

The world economic crisis of 1929-1933 caused Egypt's situation to deteriorate even further. The drop in the demand for cotton and in prices of cotton, which formed four-fifths of Egypt's exports, led to the mass ruin of the fellahs. The exacerbation of class contradictions resulted in an anti-imperialist rebellion. In July 1930, there were anti-imperialist demonstrations in Cairo, Alexandria, and other towns and cities. In a number of places they became barricade battles and armed uprisings. Ismail Sidky Pasha, the British protégé and head of government, suppressed these protests with the help of British troops. But the revolutionary upsurge continued to gain momentum. In October 1930, Sidky Pasha introduced a new Constitution which curtailed the rights of parliament and extended the authority of the king. This caused great indignation in the country which outpaced with particular force during the elections to parliament in May 1931. On the appeal of the Wafd party, the public at large boycotted the elections. Mass strikes were organised in all the cities of Egypt. In a number of places the struggle again turned into an uprising. But these popular protests were put down by Sidky Pasha.

The struggle became even more acute from 1934 to 1936. A strong strike movement appeared in the spring of 1934. The workers protested against price rises and the decrease in wages. During the strikes there were political demonstrations under the slogan "Britain Is Our Enemy". Owing to the pressure exerted by the popular movement the reactionary government resigned in August 1934. The parliament elected in 1931 was dissolved. The British were forced to make further concessions. The Constitution of 1930 was abolished. In December 1935 the Constitution of 1923 again went into force.

In May 1936, parliamentary elections brought victory to the Wasf party, which formed a government headed by Mustafa Nahas. This strengthened the positions of the national forces in the country. But on August 26, 1936, Britain did nevertheless impose an unequal treaty on Egypt which, although it proclaimed the formal cessation of the military occupation of Egypt by the British troops, gave Britain the right to keep a ten-thousand-strong army in the Suez Canal zone. This allowed the British colonialists to retain their domination over Egypt.

*Algeria.* Influenced by the October Revolution, the national liberation movement became more vigorous in the Maghrib countries (Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco).

Algeria was one of the biggest French colonies. It was poorly developed from an industrial point of view, having less than 100,000 workers in the mining and light industries. The Algerian bourgeoisie mainly operated in the sphere of small-scale production. Agriculture was relatively well developed. Huge areas of land had been seized by the colonialists. In a number of regions of Algeria patriarchal-feudal relations persisted. On the whole, Algeria's entire economy and political scene was placed under the control of France and its monopoly capital. The country's indigenous population, the Arabs and the Berbers, were deprived of civil rights and did not have access to education and culture.

In Algeria conditions ripened for an upsurge in the national liberation movement. When they returned home, the Algerians who had served in the French forces in Western Europe during the First World War, and some of them even in the interventionist forces in revolutionary Russia, brought news with them of the revolutionary

events in the world and of the October Revolution. This provided an impetus for the awakening of the national consciousness of the Algerian people. To prevent the anti-imperialist sentiments from gaining in strength, France made certain concessions to the Algerian upper crust. In 1919, a decree was adopted which somewhat extended the rights of the Algerians, particularly at the elections to the bodies of local self-government. But this insignificant reform could not satisfy the Algerian national bourgeoisie. Their representative, Emir Khalid, headed the campaign for new reforms. The Young Algerian Party founded by him in 1920 advanced demands for equality of Algerians and French, for the elimination of race discrimination, for Algerians to be represented in the French parliament, and so forth. However, the French opposed the adoption of these moderate demands.

The national liberation movement in Algeria was closely linked with the working-class and communist movement in France itself. In 1920, the French workers who lived in Algeria founded the Algerian Federation of the Communist Party. In its early days the Federation was weakly linked with the Algerian popular masses but by the end of the 1920s Arabs and Berbers began to join it.

At the same time, other anti-imperialist organisations emerged in Algeria. In 1926, the North African Star alliance was founded in France which demanded that Algeria should be granted independence. The setting up of the Congress of Arab Public Figures in Algeria in 1927 was a noteworthy event; it expressed itself in favour of extending the suffrage to the Arabs and abolishing the Native Code. The French authorities strove to put down the growing patriotic movement in Algeria. They banned national organisations and imprisoned their leaders and members.

In the years of the world economic crisis grain prices fell in Algeria, exports of olive oil diminished, the sown area was decreased and the extraction of raw materials was cut down. Many workers found themselves without a job, and many peasants were ruined.

In the 1930s the anti-imperialist struggle in Algeria became more vigorous. In 1931, yet another influential organisation among the national forces appeared, the

Association of Ulemas (scholars). In August 1934 there was a big protest by the Algerian peasantry against the expropriation of their lands by the French. In the autumn of 1935 protests were also staged by the Algerians against the French tax and legal inspectors. The Algerian Communists, who detached themselves from the French Communist Party into an independent party in 1936, played an increasingly important role in the national liberation movement. They campaigned for the withdrawal of French troops and for the complete independence of the Algerian people. The Communist Party campaigned for democratic freedoms in Algeria, for the disbandment of fascist organisations, etc.

The Communists were the initiators of the Popular Front movement in Algeria. They set up a Committee of Popular Unity which actively campaigned for progressive reforms in the country. In 1936, a Moslem Congress was convened in Algeria which adopted the National Charter. The mounting anti-imperialist movement led to the emergence of the Algerian People's Party in 1937 and of the Algerian Popular Union in 1938. Thus, the national liberation forces in Algeria evolved and grew strong.

*Tunisia.* Unlike Algeria, Tunisia was a French protectorate, but the French did in fact establish a colonial regime there. All power was in the hands of the French Governor-General. Most of the ministries were in the charge of Frenchmen. French civilian controllers were posted to the provinces. French troops were stationed in Tunisia. The country's economy was subordinated to French bankers and entrepreneurs. Much of the land belonged to the French.

At the same time, the local peasant population suffered from a shortage of land. Industry, where mining enterprises predominated, was poorly developed. The small working class was subject to great exploitation. The national bourgeoisie was not a significant political force capable of decisive anti-imperialist action. Its representatives, the Young Tunisians, did not set themselves the task of attaining national liberation, and only advanced demands for reforms within the framework of the protectorate.

The national bourgeoisie called for a Constituent Assembly, a constitution, and a national government. In

June 1920, a delegation of Tunisians went to Paris to submit these demands to the French government. But the French categorically rejected them. Then the Tunisian nationalists headed by Taalibi actively encouraged the population to fight against French domination. The Liberal Constitutional Party Destour (meaning Constitution) founded in 1920 played an important part in this national liberation movement. That year the Destour party sent two delegations to France to present to the French government the demands of the national forces in Tunisia.

The evolution of the workers' movement in France also left its mark on the liberation struggle of the Tunisian people. In 1919 and 1920 big strikes were staged in Tunisia. In 1919, the Tunisian Federation of the Socialist Party of France was founded. The first congress of the trade unions of Tunisia was convened in 1920. And, although most of the members of the workers' organisations were of French nationality, to begin with, they established close ties with the Arabs.

In 1922, the anti-imperialist struggle in Tunisia, became more vigorous. When the President of France visited Tunisia, the Tunisians organised stormy demonstrations and strikes, demanding the immediate introduction of constitutional reforms. The French ruling circles were forced to make concessions, and in July 1922 a decree on constitutional reform in Tunisia was issued. The decree provided for the setting up of a Grand Council in Tunisia and of local councils to discuss the budget. The right wing of the Destour Party was satisfied with this negligible reform. The rest of the nationalists were in favour of continuing their campaign. This caused a split in the Destour Party. The right-wing elements separated into a new party, the Reform Party.

In 1924, the class struggle of the workers in Tunisia intensified. Dockers, miners, stone-cutters, and other workers joined in the strikes. They arranged mass political demonstrations. In August and September 1924, the police used arms against demonstrators in Bizerte. The more vigorous activity of the workers' movement led to the setting up of the Tunisian General Confederation of Labour on December 3, 1924.

A fresh upsurge in the liberation movement was pre-

cipitated by the world economic crisis, which caused the material situation of the workers to deteriorate and ruined the mass of Tunisian peasants. In the years of the crisis the extraction of phosphorites, iron ore, and lead was cut down. The closure of many enterprises swelled unemployment. The prices of olive oil and wool fell. The French authorities tried to prevent the national liberation movement from intensifying by means of repressions. In May 1933, they issued a decree on disbanding the Destour Party. This caused some confusion in the ranks of the nationalists. However, the left-wing elements in the Destour Party, headed by Habib Bourguiba, set up a New Destour party in March 1934 which soon won big popularity in the country.

In the mid-thirties a Popular Front movement evolved in Tunisia in which an important part was played by the Communist Party, founded in 1934 on the basis of the Tunisian Federation of the French Communist Party. Workers in a number of towns and cities staged big strikes from March to August 1935. The strike campaign did not abate in subsequent years. As a result, the Tunisian miners managed to get an eight-hour working day introduced. Other progressive reforms were also carried out. When the government of the Popular Front came to power in France in 1936, the Communist Party of Tunisia and the New Destour party were made legal and their leaders and other members were permitted to return from exile or were released from prison. When the government of France began to depart from the programme of the Popular Front, the New Destour party called upon the inhabitants of Tunisia to join in a campaign of civil disobedience at the end of 1937. The French authorities resorted to cruel measures against them. When, on the appeal of the New Destour party, mass demonstrations took place in Tunisia under the slogans of convening a Tunisian parliament and a national government, the colonialists sent tanks against the demonstrators and opened fire on the unarmed patriots. Repressions, arrests, disbandment of political parties, and the like followed.

*Morocco.* Before 1912 Morocco was an independent state but then it was partitioned between France and Spain. France established its protectorate over the territory seized by it in Morocco. At that time, Morocco was

a backward, feudal country where vestiges of a primitive communal system persisted in the mountain regions. The greater part of the population (90 per cent) was engaged in crop cultivation and livestock breeding. The French colonialists seized the best land, took charge of the extracting industry, the fisheries, the railways, the ports and so forth. In preserving the colonial power of the Sultan, France did in fact subjugate the whole of political life in Morocco.

The Moroccan patriots immediately rose in the liberation struggle after the country's partitioning by the imperialists. The section of the French Communist Party founded in Morocco in 1920 joined in this struggle. At the beginning of the 1920s the tribes in the mountain province of Riff in the Spanish zone of Morocco attained great success in armed struggle against the foreign invaders. In 1921, the Riff tribes headed by Abd al-Karim defeated the Spanish troops. Soon after this, on September 19, 1921, the chiefs of the tribes proclaimed the foundation of an independent Riff Republic, the president of which was Abd al-Karim. The congress of chieftains of the Riff tribes was converted into a national assembly to which the supreme legislative and executive power in the republic belonged. The Riff Republic was a distinctive military alliance of the tribes, a military democracy. It set up its own regular army and repelled the Spanish invaders.

The French imperialists were seriously concerned by the emergence of the Riff Republic and in 1924 they began military operations against it. However, the Riffs repulsed the French attack and in 1925 they themselves launched an offensive. After this, France and Spain began a joint war against the Riffs (1925-1927) in which a 400,000-strong army fought. The Riffs put up heroic resistance but they were greatly outnumbered. The foreign colonialists attacked the Riffs with the very latest armaments, including combat planes. In the spring of 1927 the Spanish and French troops occupied the whole of Morocco. The Riff Republic thereby ceased to exist. After the Riffs had been defeated, for several years individual Moroccan tribes waged a struggle against the foreign colonialists. The French authorities continued military operations in Morocco right up to 1932.

In the 1930s new trends appeared in the national liberation struggle of the Moroccan people. The Moroccan bourgeoisie began to play a more vigorous part in it. As anti-imperialist sentiments became stronger during the crisis of 1929-1933 and the concomitant hardships increased, the colonial authorities decided to cause a split in the national movement, to pit the Arabs and Berbers against one another. According to the decree of May 16, 1930, the Sultan's judiciary in Morocco was deprived of its prerogatives with regard to Berber courts. The latter were made subordinate to the French military authorities. In response to this, mass demonstrations of protest were held in Morocco which were put down by the authorities.

At the end of 1934 the Moroccan nationalists set up the National Action Bloc whose programme provided for the convening of a national parliament and government. A delegation from the Bloc was sent to Paris to submit their demands to the government of France. However, the French authorities rejected the programme of the Moroccan national forces, which precipitated a wave of indignation in Morocco. The outlawing by France of the National Action Bloc led to the emergence of new national organisations in 1937, the Party for Satisfying National Demands and the Party of the Popular Movement. In September 1937 big protests began in the towns of Meknes, Marrakesh, and others. However, the French authorities made short work of those who took part in these demonstrations.

The national liberation struggle in the Maghrib countries in the 1920s and 1930s revealed the instability of foreign domination and paved the way for a mass movement for the independence of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco.

*Libya.* The Italian imperialists, too, took a hand in plundering the peoples of Northern Africa. In this region from 1912 the Italians took possession of Libya, the population of which was at the stage of feudal-patriarchal relations and in the main led a nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life. Only the coastal zone was inhabited by traders and artisans. The Moslem order of Senoussists, which was a sort of state within a state, played an important role in the eastern part of the country (Cyrenaica).

The order possessed lands and had administrative, juridical, commercial and military power. It was headed by the feudal aristocracy, who exploited the bulk of the Bedouin population.

In 1912, after the Italian-Turkish war Libya, which had been ruled by Turkey, became an Italian colony. But the Libyan population did not wish to be ruled by any new colonialists and waged a persistent struggle against them. During the First World War the hinterland regions of Libya threw off Italian control. In 1915, the sheikhs of the Cyrenaican tribes and the chiefs of the order of Senoussists formed a Legislative Council and their own government headed by the Emir Idriss Senoussi. In 1917 the Italians recognised his power over the territory controlled by him.

After the world war, the liberation movement of the Libyans rose to a new and higher stage. In November 1918, the sheikhs of the tribes proclaimed the foundation of a Tripolitanian Republic, and set up a Legislative and an Executive Council. In 1919, Italy was forced to recognise the autonomy of Tripolitania. In that same year, the Constitution of Tripolitania was adopted and the National Reform Party founded.

Italy, however, regarded these concessions as temporary ones. Soon it set about stirring up internal contradictions and strife among the Libyan patriots. The latter, in their turn, bent their efforts to unite their forces. In December 1921, at a meeting of the leaders of Tripolitania, it was decided to unite with Cyrenaica. In 1922, this unification took place under the leadership of Idriss Senoussi.

After the fascists came to power in Italy, they pursued an active colonial policy, and began to prepare for war against the patriots of Libya. In December 1922, Idriss Senoussi emigrated to Egypt. Senoussist Sheikh Umar Mukhtar moved to the forefront as military leader. In March 1923, Italian troops attacked Libyan military units in Cyrenaica and announced that all the agreements previously concluded with Senoussists were annulled. In response to this, the Libyan patriots rose in an anti-imperialist struggle headed by the Sheikh Umar Mukhtar. Although they possessed the latest arms, the Italian fascists were not able to suppress the resistance of the Li-

byian national forces for several years. The Libyan patriots displayed tremendous persistence and courage. Many of them perished in the unequal struggle. In 1928, the Italians captured Tripolitania, in 1930, Fezzan, and in 1932, Cyrenaica. The Libyan leader Umar Mukhtar was taken prisoner and hanged by the fascists in 1931.

After the uprising had been put down, Libya became a raw material and agrarian appendage of Italy and a market for the latter's goods. The colonialists took over 230,000 hectares of the best lands. The Italian landlords set up big capitalist farms on many of the expropriated lands. Having lost its land and cattle, the local Libyan population was in a sorry plight. The country's economy was on the brink of collapse. The national culture, traditions and customs of the Libyan people were not permitted to develop. The Libyan patriots could not reconcile themselves to this lot.

*Sudan.* From 1899 Sudan was formally under the joint control (condominium) of Britain and Egypt. In actual fact, all supreme military and civilian power was in the hands of the British. The government of Sudan was formed of the British, and the heads of the provinces were the British governors. The British colonialists made it their aim to turn Sudan into a big cotton producer. Owing to this, an extensive irrigation system was set up, new railways were built, the first industrial enterprises appeared and the national bourgeoisie, proletariat and intelligentsia emerged. In 1929, the cotton produced already accounted for 70 per cent of the total exports.

The Sudanese national forces waged a constant struggle against the colonialists. Influenced by the revolutionary events in Russia and Egypt, anti-imperialist demonstrations and rallies were held in various towns and cities of Sudan from 1918 to 1920. The British authorities were forced to enlist the feudal lords in the management of the country. In 1922, they introduced the so-called system of "indirect rule" by means of which the big feudal lords and the chiefs of the tribes became paid officials in the colonial apparatus. A considerable part (two-thirds) of Sudan's territory was proclaimed closed and pre-capitalist relations persisted there. The Sudanese from other regions were not permitted to enter the closed regions.

The patriots of Sudan did not agree to compromise with the British. In 1924, they set up an underground organisation, the White Flag League, headed by the officer Ali Abd al-Latif. Anti-British protests were staged under its leadership and ruthlessly quashed by the colonial authorities. In that same year, in connection with the assassination of the Governor-General of Sudan, Sir Lee Stack, the British withdrew the Egyptian troops and officials from Sudan and made numerous arrests.

The painful consequences of the world economic crisis of 1929-1933 caused the standard of living of Sudan's population to deteriorate drastically. An increasing wave of anti-British protests swept the country. In 1931, the students at Khartoum College went on strike; in 1936, the Sudanese protested in solidarity with the Egyptians against the unequal Anglo-Egyptian treaty. In 1937, the Graduates' General Congress (representing the intelligentsia, the students, and officials) came into being which launched progressive propaganda and promoted health care and educational reform. Gradually forces capable of waging an active campaign against British domination matured in Sudan.

## 2. Tropical Africa

After the First World War, Tropical Africa, with the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia, remained in colonial dependence of Britain, France, Spain, Belgium, and Portugal. From a social-economic point of view this was the most backward part of Africa. In many countries neither a working class nor a national bourgeoisie had taken shape. Nevertheless, the vanguard elements in the young but still small African intelligentsia already had progressive ideas. Outbursts of spontaneous protest by the masses against foreign colonial oppression were becoming more common in Tropical Africa.

*Ethiopia.* At the time of the partitioning of Africa by foreign imperialists, Ethiopia managed to defend its independence. However, its northeastern part, then named Eritrea, was seized by Italy. On the whole, Ethiopia remained a backward feudal country in which the vestiges of a clan tribal system persisted, slavery continued, while capitalism was gaining a footing at the same time. The

peasants, who formed the bulk of the population in the country, were subjected to burdensome feudal duties.

After the palace revolution in 1916 a dual power was established in the country's political life. Besides the Empress Zauditu supreme power was also held by the regent Tafari Makonnen. The latter was the leader of the Young Ethiopians, who represented the interests of feudal circles and the fairly small commercial bourgeoisie. The Young Ethiopians put forward a programme of reform which provided for the centralisation of state power and the alleviation of social oppression, without affecting the basis of the feudal system.

The Young Ethiopians were opposed by the big feudal lords and the clergy (the Old Ethiopians) who were against any kind of reform and supported the Empress. They were in charge of the most important ministries and held the top posts in the provinces.

In the latest epoch the activity of the popular masses in Ethiopia's political life became more vigorous. In 1918, unrest occurred among the soldiers who opposed the conservative government circles. The peasant masses also joined the movement. The Young Ethiopians managed to get decrees prohibiting the slave trade adopted in 1918 and 1923-1924. The institution of slavery was limited by these decrees but not completely abolished. But this reform also called forth resistance on the part of the Old Ethiopians. Armed struggle began between the Young and the Old Ethiopians. In 1928, Tafari Makonnen quashed two rebellions by the Old Ethiopians after which he received the highest monarchic title (Negus) and did in fact remove the Empress from power. After her death in November 1930 he was proclaimed Emperor of Ethiopia under the name of Haile Selassie I.

At the beginning of the 1930s the manufacturing industry had evolved to a certain extent. There were flour and oil mills, saw mills, soap factories, weaving workshops, rope factories and breweries. In the mining industry the extraction of platinum, gold, saltpetre, and mica was developed. Italians dominated at the most important enterprises. Foreigners were mainly in charge of foreign trade. The world economic crisis struck the Ethiopian economy hard and caused the situation of the working masses to deteriorate.

Certain reforms were carried out after Haile Selassie I became Emperor. The concessions of the Bank of Abyssinia which belonged to the British were bought up, and a National Bank founded. Among other measures of a similar type there was a monetary reform and improvement of the tax system. The building of highways was expanded and model estates and farms were organised. In 1931 and 1935, another two laws were passed to combat slavery. In actual fact, however, the abolition of this outmoded institution was proceeding rather slowly. In 1931, a constitution was adopted for the first time which consolidated the centralisation of the state and the power of the Emperor. The latter had legislative initiative and Parliament only approved bills proposed by the Emperor. The higher strata of the population alone had the franchise. Haile Selassie devoted much attention to building up a modern army.

However, Ethiopia developed in what was for it a complicated international situation. The imperialist powers, France, Italy, and Britain, were seeking to penetrate into Ethiopia's economy and subordinate it to their own interests. They worked out a plan for partitioning Ethiopia into spheres of influence. Italy became particularly active at the beginning of the 1930s. From the autumn of 1934 Italy started organising provocations against Ethiopia. Under the guise of "non-interference", France and Britain consented to the seizure of Ethiopia by Italy. The Italian fascists began military operations against the Ethiopian state on October 3, 1935. The Ethiopian people rose to defend their country and waged a just defensive war. But theirs was an unequal struggle. The Ethiopians did not have modern arms and frequently operated separately, whereas the Italians used tanks, aircraft, and the latest artillery, and what was more, employed poison gas.

In May 1936, Ethiopia was seized by Italian troops, and its Emperor left the country. Of the big powers, only the Soviet Union stood up for the Ethiopian people. And the Soviet stand found an extensive positive response among the world's democratic public.

*Liberia.* Liberia is a small formally independent state strongly influenced by the USA which was formed in the mid-19th century when free Blacks from the United

States established a number of settlements there. In 1917, there were approximately 20,000 settlers from the USA, who secured a privileged position compared with the one-million indigenous inhabitants. The Americo-Liberians occupied the main posts in the administrative apparatus, had their own plantations and carried on trade. The bureaucratic and compradore bourgeoisie originated in their midst, which founded the party of Genuine Wigs in 1869. The indigenous Liberians were at the stage of patriarchal relations with communal ownership of the land. Time and again, armed clashes occurred between them and the settlers from America.

By the time the First World War broke out, Liberia became financially dependent on the imperialist powers. At the beginning of 1918, Liberia went to war on the side of the Entente countries. When the war ended, American capital began to penetrate actively into its economy. In 1926, the president of the Tire and Rubber Company, Harvey Firestone, obtained an advantageous concession in Liberia to cultivate rubber. A system of cruel exploitation was introduced on rubber plantations.

The indigenous population protested against the intensifying oppression on the part of foreign and local exploiters. In 1931, the Kru people, who lived in the country's littoral areas, appealed to the government to defer tax payments. In reply to the "recalcitrant" Kru, troops were sent to suppress their action.

*Nigeria.* Nigeria like Gambia, the Gold Coast (Ghana) and Sierra Leone was part of the colony of British West Africa. In Nigeria the British relied for support on the emirs and the chiefs of the tribes whom they turned into paid officials. They introduced a direct monetary tax on the population which promoted the development of capitalist relations. The colonialists also managed to turn Nigeria into an important producer of palm products, cocoa beans, and groundnuts, and a supplier of minerals, tin, and coal. The Lagos-Kano railway was built. The first groups of the working class and the national bourgeoisie appeared. After the First World War the imperialists intensified their exploitation of the Nigerian people and their resources.

The population of Nigeria, who lived in tremendous poverty, repeatedly rose in struggle against their oppres-

sors. In June 1918 and the summer of 1919, peasant riots flared up in a number of provinces in the country. The increased burden of taxes was the reason for this protest. The peasants destroyed the enterprises belonging to foreigners, smashed up the railways, and tore down the telegraph wires. The British colonial authorities quashed the uprising of the Nigerian peasants in an extremely cruel manner.

The upsurge of the anti-imperialist movement led to the appearance of the first national organisations. In 1920, a branch of the National Congress of British West Africa came into being in Nigeria. It began to publish its own newspaper, the *West African Nationhood*. Then, in 1922, the Nigerian National Democratic Party was formed. As anti-imperialist sentiments grew, the colonial authorities made small concessions. In 1922, they introduced the "Clifford Constitution" (named after the Governor of Nigeria) in accordance with which a Legislative Council was set up comprising 46 members, including ten Africans. The National Democratic Party took part in the elections and won three seats from Lagos.

Owing to the pernicious effect of the world economic crisis, the struggle of the working people of Nigeria acquired a new scale. When in 1929 the colonial authorities increased the taxes imposed on the inhabitants of the eastern provinces of Nigeria, mass demonstrations occurred there. Thousands of demonstrators, mainly women, demanded that the extortionate taxes should be abolished and the fixed purchasing price for palm oil raised. The demonstrators also demanded that the whites should go back to their own country. The colonialists opened fire on this demonstration, killing nearly 80 women and children and wounding many others. The Aba Revolt, as this protest began to be called, suffered defeat owing to its lack of organisation and its spontaneity.

But it gave a fresh impetus to the growth of the various Nigerian organisations, frequently set up according to tribal affiliation. In 1933, representatives of the intelligentsia of Lagos set up an organisation called the Lagos Youth Movement. It aimed to get Nigerians access to administrative bodies. In 1938, this organisation, which had been renamed the Nigerian Youth Movement by that

time, published its pre-election charter in which its own tasks and goals were formulated. "The main aim of NYM," its leaders announced, "is to create a single Nigerian nation by uniting all the peoples inhabiting Nigeria. We shall support all the forces that facilitate the creation of an atmosphere of understanding and a feeling of common national affiliation of the different peoples in the country. We shall fight against all the trends which may threaten the progress of unification in the country."

The Nigerian Youth Movement demanded that Nigeria be granted autonomy and the right for Nigerians to run the country's internal affairs. In the 1938 elections to the Legislative Council, NYM candidates won all three seats from Lagos. The movement's prestige grew by leaps and bounds. Nnamdi Azikiwe, who became the first President of Nigeria, began his political career in the NYM. Its activities helped to invigorate the national liberation movement in the country.

*Ghana.* At the time of British colonial rule, Ghana was named the Gold Coast. It had a population of 2.3 million (in 1921) and produced cocoa beans. The bigger planters sold their harvest to the British, who controlled the cocoa beans world market. Besides, gold and manganese ore were produced in Ghana. At the beginning of the 20th century, a working class began to emerge. So did a national bourgeoisie. The first trade union, that of lorry and car drivers, was founded in 1915.

The country's administration was wholly controlled by the British. A Legislative Council functioned under the British governor, with six seats held by Africans towards the end of the First World War. Since they were in the minority, their influence was insignificant. After the war, Ghana's national forces campaigned for a reform of the Legislative Council. A conference of representatives of the African populations of the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Gambia, and Sierra Leone gathered in March 1920, and founded the National Congress of British West Africa. This organisation, in which a leading part was played by Casely J. E. Hayford (1866-1930), sought to win the right for Africans to elect representatives to local legislative councils. But even this moderate demand was not backed by either the British or the local feudal lords. The latter, who were in fact paid officials of the

colonialists, considered themselves representatives of the interests of the local population.

The peasants vented their anger not only against the foreign colonialists, but also against the latter's menials. In the Gold Coast, they dismissed as many as 41 tribal chiefs between 1919 and 1924 for their subservience to the colonialists.

To prevent the national liberation movement from growing, the British authorities introduced a new Constitution in 1925, under which the three biggest towns were granted the right to elect one representative each to the Legislative Council. The first college was opened in Achimota in 1927. Among its graduates was the future President Kwame Nkrumah.

At the time of the world economic crisis, the peasants and workers of the Gold Coast were in an exceedingly sorry plight. What was more, the British introduced direct taxation in 1931. The peasants responded with anti-tax actions and actions against the decline of cocoa beans prices. At the end of 1932, a peasant rising occurred in the Bensu district. The mass of workers, too, participated in the anti-imperialist movement. There was a strike, for example, at the Kumasi goldfields in September 1932. In the years that followed, strikes erupted at Kumasi and elsewhere. On several occasions, bloody clashes occurred between anti-tax demonstrators and the police. In the final count, the British abandoned their intentions. But after the crisis, too, they tried to keep the purchasing price of cocoa beans at the old low mark. This resulted in a cocoa producers' boycott. The boycott lasted from October 1937 to April 1938, with the result that the colonialists were forced to raise cocoa prices.

Analogous processes took place in *Sierra Leone* and *Gambia*. The workers of Sierra Leone were highly active. In 1919, the railwaymen's trade union, for example, which was founded during the First World War, held a successful strike. But in 1926 its action for higher wages and shorter working hours was suppressed by the authorities, and the union itself was wiped out. Active in Sierra Leone were the National Congress of British West Africa and a Youth League, which demanded what similar organisations did in Nigeria and the Gold Coast.

During the period between wars, a liberation movement

came into being in Gambia too. Its members participated in the founding of the National Congress of British West Africa in 1920. In 1929, dockers and seamen held a successful strike in Bathurst, winning official recognition of their trade union. But later the union was dissolved.

By and large, a consolidation of anti-imperialist forces was witnessed in British West Africa.

**Kenya.** Before the First World War, in East Africa Kenya, Uganda, and Zanzibar belonged to Britain, and Tanganyika to Germany. After the war, Tanganyika also became a British possession. In Kenya the colonialists acquired the best lands for themselves and founded settlements. On the big plantations coffee, sisal, and tea were produced by the cheap labour of Africans. After the First World War, the British colonialists intensified their exploitation of the Kenyan population. In 1920, they introduced a system of special passes for Africans in Kenya as a means of preventing agricultural workers from quitting plantations. Then the British authorities introduced a law on compulsory labour of African men. The rise in taxes and decrease in wages of Africans caused an invigoration of the anti-imperialist struggle. Besides the peasants and workers, the emerging local bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia joined the movement.

In the summer of 1921, Africans held a rally in the environs of Nairobi, protesting against wage cuts. Those who attended the rally proclaimed the establishment of a Young Kikuyu Association headed by the African office employee Harry Thuku. This first anti-imperialist organisation in the history of Kenya campaigned against expropriation of land, and began to draw up a petition to be submitted to the British king. Then the authorities arrested Harry Thuku, and this provoked a mass political demonstration in March 1922. The British ruthlessly put down this protest of the Kenyan working people, killing 150 workers. The association ceased to exist.

At the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s a new upsurge in the anti-imperialist movement occurred in Kenya. The Central Kikuyu Association emerged in the country whose programme advanced the following demands: that expropriation of the Africans' lands should cease, that the Africans should be granted political rights, that they should be represented on the Legislative Council,

that the chiefs and members of the local councils should be elected, and that European and African industrial and office workers be granted equal rights. The Association, together with other similar organisations, was active in conducting propaganda and agitation, but in 1940 it was banned.

Concurrently, anti-imperialist actions were held by the Kenyan masses. In 1932, the peasants made anti-government protests in the Kakamega region in response to the expropriation of their land by the colonial authorities. Unrest among Kenyan peasants continued right up until the beginning of the Second World War.

**Uganda.** In Uganda the British found support among the local feudal lords. They handed over to them a considerable part of the communal land, turning a lot of peasants into tenants. Vast areas of land were taken over by the British. The Africans who cultivated this land paid taxes in cash.

After the First World War the anti-imperialist movement began to gain in strength in Uganda. In 1918, the first political organisation of the African population, the Young Buganda Association came into being. In 1921, the Association of Bataka (peasants) was founded. The two organisations merged, taking the name of the latter. The Association demanded that Africans should have access to the local bodies of government and that their land should be returned to them. In 1927, a law was passed in Uganda which somewhat limited the power of the feudal lords. The peasants gained the inheritable right to rent land. After this law was passed, the Bataka Association disbanded itself.

In the 1930s Uganda became a major producer of cotton within the framework of the British Empire. Among the cotton producers a group of Ugandans formed, mainly of Asian origin, who comprised the local bourgeoisie. Before the Second World War Uganda had approximately 80,000 workers, who were also involved in the liberation movement. In 1939, a trade union of African drivers came into being. A noteworthy role in the anti-imperialist movement was played by the political organisation Sons of Kintu, which was formed in 1938 (Kintu was the mythical founder of the African state of Buganda). The new organisation opposed economic discrimination

against the Africans and campaigned for the democratisation of the life of society, but it was soon banned.

*Tanganyika and Zanzibar.* In Tanganyika the British established a system of indirect rule and developed a plantation economy. The best lands were expropriated by the British colonialists. In Zanzibar the power of the Sultan was retained and a large part of the lands remained in the possession of the Arab feudal lords. Zanzibar became a producer of cloves and clove oil.

In 1924, workers in Tanganyika were prohibited by law from leaving their jobs. In cases where the law was violated a fine was enforced or even a term of imprisonment of up to six months. Just as in Kenya, male Africans were obliged to take part in public works. All this meant that hired labour could be used on an ever more extensive scale. On the eve of the Second World War there were 310,000 workers in Tanganyika.

The peasants' dissatisfaction with the colonial regime expressed itself in their struggle against the purchasing agents: marketing cooperatives were set up at the end of the 1920s. In 1929, the Association of Africans of Tanganyika was formed which conducted cultural and educational work among the African population. During the world economic crisis of 1929-1933 trade unions appeared in Tanganyika. In 1932, 12,000 miners in the goldfields went on strike, demanding higher wages. The strike was quashed. The authorities banned workers' associations. At that time, the dockers in Dar Es Salaam went on strike, demanding better living and working conditions.

*Zambia, Malawi, and Zimbabwe.* These three countries, too, were British possessions. Before independence they were named Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and Southern Rhodesia (or simply Rhodesia), respectively. In Southern Rhodesia, the British took over all the gold-rich areas and fertile lands. By the end of the First World War, nearly 30,000 out of the total 850,000 population were of European origin. They owned large tobacco and maize plantations. Mining had made some progress.

Northern Rhodesia had lead, zinc and copper mines. As in Southern Rhodesia, the best lands went to the white colonialists. The local African population was driven into reservations. But in Northern Rhodesia the white colonists numbered only 3,000 as against the 950,000 Africans.

Still fewer whites had settled in Nyasaland — only about a thousand. White settlers were discouraged by the bad climate and the absence of prospected minerals.

After the First World War, Britain altered the status of Southern and Northern Rhodesia, which had been administered by the British South Africa Company. In August 1922, a referendum put to the white colonists made Southern Rhodesia a self-governing "white colony" with a parliament whose deputies were elected by whites only. Six months later, Northern Rhodesia was declared a British protectorate. This led to a rapid colonisation of the two Rhodesias. Their new status yielded nothing to the African population.

The British authorities devoted much attention to landed estates in Southern Rhodesia. A special commission went there in 1926. In 1930, its efforts led to the enactment of the Land Apportionment Act. Under this act, regions appeared that were exclusively peopled by Europeans. In those regions, Africans could not own land. They were resettled in 94 reservations. Prosperous Africans were allowed to buy land and set up farms there. As a result, most of the fertile land was taken from Africans, leading to a mass impoverishment of local peasants. Much the same legislation was enacted in Northern Rhodesia in 1928 and 1929, while a Native Purchase Areas Regulation was put into effect in Nyasaland in 1936. Though no reservations were established there, the African population suffered from an acute land hunger.

In the between-wars period, mining made visible headway in the two Rhodesias. Gold-mining continued, while mining of asbestos, chromium ore, tin, tungsten, antimony, coal, copper, and cobalt made rapid headway. By the end of the 1930s, Southern Rhodesia ranked among the world's leading producers of copper and cobalt. Nearly 90,000 were employed in Southern Rhodesia's mining industry in 1937.

The local Africans — peasants and workers — were in a sorry state. The national and class struggle in the three African countries gradually gained in intensity. The first large-scale strike in Northern Rhodesia copper mines occurred in 1935. It was precipitated by low wages and discrimination of Blacks. The authorities resorted to armed force, and put down

the strike after killing six and wounding 22 workers. The ties between the working people of these countries and those of the Union of South Africa fostered class consciousness and a feeling of national identity. A National Association of Nyasalanders was founded in South Africa in 1920 to promote the interests of Nyasalanders who came to the Union of South Africa. An Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union was founded in Southern Rhodesia, as well as a Rhodesia Bantu Voters' Association. Welfare associations also appeared in both Rhodesias, encompassing the African intelligentsia and other urban groups. A religious organisation, the Watchtower, came into being in Nyasaland, and then also so-called native associations. All these were prototypes of national organisations of later days.

*Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland.* These three countries were British protectorates; at the time, Botswana was known as Bechuanaland, and Lesotho as Basutoland. In all these countries, the British established a system of indirect rule. From an economic and political point of view these protectorates were tied to the Union of South Africa. The population of these countries was engaged in livestock breeding and subsistence farming. Many Africans left to earn money in the Union of South Africa.

The British did not bother much about developing a system of education and medical services for the population in these countries. Nevertheless, certain successes were attained in education in Basutoland. In the period between the two wars the country had more literate inhabitants than any other in Africa.

In political life the British relied on the power of the chiefs, using the contradictions among the ruling tribal elite in their own interests. However, their policy was not always successful. Thus, in Swaziland, as a result of the struggle with the princess regent, the young heir came out on top and in 1922 became the supreme ruler under the name of Sobhuza II. Once he was in power he demanded that the British should return the lands taken away from the Africans. This won him the support of considerable strata of the population of Swaziland. But it spoilt his relations with the British.

In Bechuanaland, after a three-year-long struggle for power (1923-1926), Chekede Khama became the regent

and came out against British domination. In 1933, Chekede subjected to public flogging a white man by the name of Mackintosh for "insulting African women". The British authorities attempted to remove Chekede from power with the help of punitive forces, but failed. Remaining the regent until 1951, Chekede continued to pursue an anti-imperialist policy and sought to restrict the power of the British in the country.

The anti-colonial movement assumed a most vigorous character in Basutoland where it was headed by the progressive intelligentsia. The Progressive Association of Basutoland founded in 1916 pressed for access to education, trade and government for Africans. In 1918, the Africans who were in Europe as soldiers of the Labour Corps returned to the country. They disseminated liberation ideas among the local population, told them about the revolutionary events in Russia and protested against the foreign colonialists and chiefs of the tribes at rallies. In 1918, the programme of the Poor League, which became the vanguard force in the anti-colonial struggle, was worked out. The League set its goal as the abolition of the system of colonial rule. By the mid-1920s it had become a mass organisation. From 1928 onwards, the League maintained close cooperation with the Communist Party of South Africa and the African National Congress. It played no small part in the campaign to prevent the inclusion of Basutoland in the Union of South Africa.

*French West and Equatorial Africa.* France had extensive colonial possessions in Tropical Africa, which it increased through the acquisition of part of the former German colonies as a result of the First World War. The French colonial empire consisted of two governor-generalships, those of West Africa and Equatorial Africa, and of Madagascar and two mandated territories — Togo and Cameroon.

The French colonialists exploited their colonies by means of trade and taxes, and the forced labour of Africans. In a number of places, France granted a small part of the African population the right to French citizenship in the hope of providing itself with social backing in the colonies. The situation in the mandated territories (Togo and Cameroon) hardly differed from that in the colonies.

From an economic point of view, these French possessions were extremely backward. Primitive patriarchal production prevailed. Slavery still persisted. In some regions (West and Central Sudan) feudal methods of exploitation were used, and the feudal rulers preserved their power (Chad, Upper Volta). Commodity production was developed in Senegal and Ivory Coast, where groundnuts, coffee and cocoa, intended for export, were cultivated. Hired labour was increasingly being used. In West Africa there were approximately 100,000 workers in the 1920s, employed at the ports, on the railways, and on the plantations. There were also seasonal workers among the hired hands, but hardly any national bourgeoisie.

In its colonies in Tropical Africa France mainly used a system of direct rule. The power of the local chieftains was considerably lessened. However, many of them received posts in the institutions of the colonial administration and formed a kind of reliable staff for the colonialists.

During the First World War, natives of Tropical Africa fought in the French units (for example, 134,000 Senegal riflemen). When they returned home, they brought with them the ideas of liberation sown by the revolutionary events in Russia and other countries in Europe. Strikes and spontaneous protests by the masses flared up in the more developed centres of the colonial empire. In 1919, the railwaymen of Senegal went on strike and also the port workers and other workers in French Guinea. The revolts of the nomads in Sahara, which had begun back in the war years, continued (the Touaregs of Sahara, the Arabs of Mauritania and French Sudan).

In the post-war period, France intensified its exploitation of the population of West and Equatorial Africa. Soon after the war, Minister for the Colonies Albert Sarraut worked out a fifteen-year plan for the economic development of the colonies (the Sarraut Plan) which envisaged the construction of railways and highways, the development of agriculture and so forth. The implementation of this plan meant a heavier burden of taxes on the African population and the expansion of the system of forced labour.

The French trading firms set up an extensive network of purchasing posts and shops, exported raw materials and manufactured goods, and encouraged a one-crop

system: in Senegal — groundnuts, in Dahomey — palm oil, in French Guinea — bananas and pineapples, in Gabon — valuable types of timber, and in Ivory Coast, Togo, and Cameroon — coffee and cocoa. A number of colonies such as French Sudan, Upper Volta, Middle Congo and Oubangui-Chari provided manpower for the construction of roads and railways. As they were livestock-breeding countries, Chad, Niger, and Mauritania exported animal products.

Industry in the colonies was poorly developed. Besides timber mills, processing plants for agricultural produce appeared. In some places, gold was extracted, and in Middle Congo, copper ore. In the countries along the Atlantic seaboard, railways were constructed, making it possible to increase the export of raw materials and manufactured products from the French colonies. The railways were also of strategic significance to the colonialists in maintaining their domination.

The increasing exploitation, the extensive use of forced labour, and the deterioration of the living standard of the Africans activated the anti-imperialist movement in West and Equatorial Africa, which had become better organised. The progressive elements in the African population began to set up their own organisations. In Senegal a Young Senegalese movement appeared and in Dahomey, a Young Dahomeyans movement. In 1922, in Porto-Novo in Dahomey, the Young Dahomeyans staged anti-French protests, which the colonial authorities suppressed by sending in troops. There were also anti-colonial protests in the Cameroon, Togo, and other French colonies. In 1927, rebellions flared up in Chad, Middle Congo and Cameroon.

The world economic crisis of 1929-1933, hit hard the countries where a one-crop system was practised, such as Senegal, French Guinea, Ivory Coast, and Dahomey. The prices of the produce grown by them fell by 50-70 per cent. The ruined population of the colonies had to sell themselves and their children to the Europeans in slavery or flee to other countries. France was forced to cut taxes somewhat, to reduce the apparatus of government in the colonies and decrease the funds needed to keep it there. During the crisis the colonialists forced the peasants in a number of colonies (Upper Volta, French Sudan)

to produce cotton, which was bought up at extremely low prices.

In the thirties the anti-imperialist movement in the French colonies became more vigorous, a greater part being played in it by the working class and the intelligentsia. In some of the colonies newspapers and the works of African writers began to be published. Progressive Africans criticised the colonial regime. Thanks to the activity of the French Communist Party, Marxist study groups emerged in a number of places (Senegal, French Sudan).

The victory of the Popular Front in France was of great significance for the liberation movement in the colonies. During its term of government the activity of the workers' organisations in the colonies was made legal. The first trade unions of Africans were set up in Senegal and Ivory Coast, and there were strikes there. In September 1938, railwaymen in Senegal held a large, successful strike. A successful strike was also held by African office workers in Senegal in 1938.

*The Malagasy Republic.* After they established their domination in Madagascar, the French colonialists took charge of all the main branches of its economy. By means of taxes and forced labour the French managed to attain a growth in the production of export items such as coffee, vanilla, and cloves. The extraction of such minerals as graphite, mica, and gold was boosted. Madagascar's home and foreign trade came under French control. Ten million hectares of ploughland and forests were taken over by the colonialists.

The introduction of commodity-money relations led to pronounced social changes. The peasants became ruined, many of them leaving for the towns in search of employment. Simultaneously, a stratum of prosperous, bourgeois Africans was taking shape in the countryside. Wage workers appeared in the towns, numbering 130,600 people in 1939. Native Malagasy entrepreneurs and traders appeared, and also a native intelligentsia.

After the First World War, the Malagasy soldiers who had fought in Europe brought back news of the revolution in Russia. In 1919, former soldier Jean Ralaimongo founded in Paris the French League for Granting the Indigenous Population of Madagascar the Right to French Citizenship. In June 1925, the first strike was staged in

Madagascar. In the following years the peasants organised protests against the confiscation of their lands and forced labour. The three-thousand-strong anti-imperialist demonstration held on May 19, 1929, was an important event.

Owing to the hardships caused by the world economic crisis and also under the impact of the Popular Front's victory in France, the Malagasy national forces became more active in their struggle, advancing the slogan of setting up a National Malagasy Front. At the same time, a Malagasy section of the French Communist Party emerged. The strike movement became increasingly wide-scale. In 1936 and 1937 the workers at the meat-canning factory in Tananarive in Madagascar went on strike. In 1937, the first trade unions, although illegal ones, appeared. They soon gained the right to exist legally and joined the French General Confederation of Labour. Concerned by the growing liberation movement, the colonialists began to encourage the setting up of terrorist groups in Madagascar and banned the Malagasy section of the French Communist Party.

Congo (now Zaire), was a Belgian colony, while Ruanda-Urundi (now Ruanda and Burundi) were Belgium's trust territories. The Congo was an important source of mineral and vegetable raw materials, a market for industrial goods and a sphere of application of Belgian capital. After the First World War the colonialists took particular interest in the development of the mining industry. The extraction of copper, tin, cobalt, and zinc grew considerably, besides that of gold and diamonds. Big ore-dressing enterprises and metallurgical works appeared, and railways and power stations were constructed. Manufacturing enterprises also emerged along with building firms and repair workshops. The powerful firm Union Minière began to play a leading part in the exploitation of the Congo.

The colonialists tried to adapt the agriculture of Congo to their needs. They were no longer satisfied by the rubber and oil palm fruits gathered by the Congolese. They took measures to compel the Congolese peasants to grow cotton, oil palm and coffee, all of which they bought up at low prices and sold on the world market at a high profit to themselves. The Anglo-Dutch concern Unilever specialised in exploiting the Congo's agricultural wealth.

The colonialists relied on the tribal chiefs and the feudal lords, who helped them to exploit the peasants and keep them subservient. The patriarchal subsistence system of agriculture gradually disintegrated, and commodity-money relations were introduced in farming. The expropriation of the peasants' lands by the colonialists speeded up this process. The foreign landlords set up extensive plantations and livestock-breeding farms.

The development of colonial production caused changes in the social structure of the Congolese population. The army of people with permanent jobs swelled like that of those doing temporary work (peasants going to cities).

From a political point of view, the African population had absolutely no rights. According to the Colonial Charter (1908), supreme power in the colony was wielded by the king and the Parliament of Belgium through a Governor-General. In 1922, a law was passed on the labour contract, and this made Congolese workers utterly dependent on the colonialists.

The colonial yoke called forth a gathering storm of protest on the part of the Congolese population. Peasant unrest led by the tribal and feudal nobility flared up and was joined by the political and religious movements. Kimbangism, an anti-colonial movement with religious overtones, developed in Congo at the beginning of the twenties. A former protestant priest, the Congolese Simon Kimbangu, was proclaimed by his followers the Messiah whose lot it was to save the Africans. They put forward the slogan, "The Congo for the Congolese". Under the leadership of Kimbangu's supporters mass protests were made in some places and riots flared up. The Belgian authorities meted out severe reprisals. In 1921, they arrested Simon Kimbangu and sentenced him to death, but this was commuted to a life sentence.

Besides Kimbangism, there were other anti-colonial movements in the Congo. In 1919, rebellions flared up in the districts of Sankuru, Equatorial, and Lake Leopold, which continued for two years. The population in the province of Kivu did not recognise the authority of the colonialists for a number of years. It was not until 1923 that the Belgians with the assistance of military force were able to assert their power there.

The deterioration in the situation of the popular masses

owing to the world economic crisis called forth fresh protests by the Congolese. In May 1931, the popular masses in Kwango province staged an uprising, which lasted for four months. Troops were sent from Leopoldville to put down the rebellion. Simultaneously, there were big armed clashes between the Congolese and the colonial forces in the province of Kasai. These and other protests were evidence of the deepening crisis affecting the colonial domination of the Belgian imperialists in Congo.

*Ruanda-Urundi* became a Belgian possession after the First World War. According to the 1925 statutes, Ruanda-Urundi joined the Belgian Congo to form an administrative union. The vice-governor-general, who was answerable to the Governor-General of the Congo, was in charge of them.

A system of indirect rule was retained in the territories of Ruanda-Urundi. The local nobility chose a king for Ruanda and a king for Urundi. The heads of the two "states" received a salary from the Belgian authorities. From an economic point of view, both countries were exceptionally backward. In the countryside patriarchal relations were intermingled with feudal exploitation. The beginnings of industrial development had only just appeared. Belgium did not make big capital investments in the economy of these countries, keeping them in "reserve" as it were. The historical destiny of the peoples of Ruanda-Urundi are closely connected with the struggle of the African population of the Congo and other countries on that continent against foreign imperialism.

*Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, and São Tomé and Príncipe.* Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, the Cape Verde Islands and São Tomé and Príncipe were controlled by Portuguese colonialists. These regions were distinguished by an extremely low level of economic development, and the monstrous exploitation and poverty of the population. Primitive crop cultivation, marked vestiges of clan relations, and the absence of private peasant ownership of the land were all typical of the way of life of the majority of the population in the Portuguese colonies. Besides cultivating the land, the local inhabitants were engaged in livestock breeding, fishing, and hunting.

The Portuguese colonialists, who did not have big capi-

tal at their disposal, were slow to develop the wealth of their colonies. They mainly carried on a trade in wine and textiles with the local population. The Portuguese colonists had small plantations and used forced labour.

British capital penetrated into the Portuguese colonies on a large scale. The British controlled foreign trade, and the production of sugar cane, sisal and other export crops in Angola and Mozambique. They ran the development of the diamond mines and constructed the railways and highways they needed. Belgian capital as well as British capital penetrated into the Portuguese colonies. On the eve of the Second World War Portugal also offered German capitalists extensive opportunities in Angola.

The manufacturing industry was poorly developed in the Portuguese colonies. By the end of the twenties there were four sugar refineries, three tobacco factories, 33 flour mills, and also small food-packing enterprises in Angola. In Mozambique 13 enterprises processing sugar cane, sisal, and tobacco had emerged. In Guinea there were several enterprises engaged in the primary processing of ground-nuts and timber. Small peasant farms growing maize, cocoa, coffee, and bananas predominated on the islands.

The foreign monopolies cruelly exploited the local population. Forced labour was common everywhere. Laws passed from 1928 to 1933 regulated the employment of forced labour. Every "unemployed" African was obliged to work for the state or for a private entrepreneur for from three months to a year. The peasants who had not paid the poll tax also had to do forced labour, which was widely used in constructing highways and railways. Manpower from the Portuguese colonies was exported to other countries on a large scale, with workers from Mozambique, for instance, going to the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

In spite of the backwardness of the Portuguese colonies, a working class took shape there all the same, and organised a series of protests. In 1924 and 1925 there were rebellions of Angolan workers in Porto Amhoim and Ambriz, respectively. In 1925, transport workers and dockers in Mozambique went on strike. In Guinea there were rebellions in 1917, 1925, and 1936, all of which were ruthlessly quashed by the colonialists. At the end of the twenties, the first national organisations began to appear

in the Portuguese colonies. In 1929, the National African League of Angola and the Regional Association of the Natives of Angola were founded. These were legal organisations mainly engaged in educational work. At the same time, there were members of the National African League who were active in the political struggle against colonialism. These organisations played a definite part in getting people to join the anti-colonial struggle.

During the world economic crisis of 1929-1933 Portugal intensified its exploitation of the colonies. On the suggestion of Salazar, a new system of taxes was introduced in the colonies. The Africans were obliged to pay a "natives' tax", while indirect taxes continued to rise. In 1930, a colonial act was adopted which formalised a system of direct rule of the colonies. This system was supervised by the Governor-General to whom the district governors and other officials were subordinate. Portugal also implanted a network of fascist organisations among the colonists. A network of police and informers was set up. Troops were billeted in all the big populated centres. The colonialists tried to somehow justify their activities on the African lands seized by them. For this purpose, Portugal and the colonies were depicted as a "great multiracial community" developing towards the formation of a single nation.

However, no political measures or deceitful propaganda could halt the rising tide of the national liberation struggle. In 1930, the Western regions of Angola were swept by a wave of major anti-colonial protests. In the wake of the rebellion by the port workers of Luanda, the plantation workers joined the struggle. The authorities sent troops from Portugal to put down this rebellion.

On the whole, the protests of the population in the Portuguese colonies were of a spontaneous nature and not organised. The masses of the peasantry took little part in them. True, in 1939, there was a revolt by the Angolan Mukuba and other small-scale peasant protests, which were cruelly put down by the Portuguese fascists. The motive forces of national liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies were extremely slow in maturing owing to the tremendous backwardness of these colonies.

*Somalia.* Somalia was divided up between the British, French, and Italian colonialists. However, the national forces did not cease their armed struggle against the

foreign invaders. This struggle was headed by Muhammad Abdille Hasan. On the eve of the First World War he and his supporters managed to found a national state union in the hinterland. But after the war the British perpetrated punitive actions and crushed the rebel forces in 1920. From 1925 to 1927 there was a big wave of anti-imperialist protests in Italian Somalia.

The colonialists hindered the economic and social development of all three parts of Somalia which remained backward agrarian regions where nomadic livestock breeding prevailed. Other exports besides the products of livestock breeding were bananas, cotton, and salt. There were sugar refineries, cotton ginneries, oil mills, and salt works. Forced labour was extensively used. The Italian colonialists expropriated land and set up big plantations to cultivate bananas, sugar cane, cotton, and groundnuts. Ports, which were of great strategic significance, were built in the French and British parts of Somalia.

The Somalians had no political or civil rights. Slavery and the slave trade persisted. The official languages were those of the colonial powers. The Somalian intelligentsia tried to create a Somali written language. But any one who used it was severely punished by the colonial authorities.

The situation in Italian Somalia became drastically worse when the fascists came to power in Italy as they intensified the exploitation of their colonies. Expropriation of land proceeded on a mass scale. All this added to the contradictions between the national forces and the foreign imperialists.

*The Union of South Africa and Namibia.* In 1910, a British dominion, the Union of South Africa (now the Republic of South Africa), was formed out of the two British colonies of Natal and Cape Colony, and the Boer states, of Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Its total population was approximately seven million, of whom 20 per cent were whites and the rest Africans and Asians (three per cent Indians). The main occupation of the population was farming. White farmers went over to commercial livestock breeding and crop cultivation (production of wool and wine for export). However, land was expropriated from the indigenous population and handed over to the colonists or retained as a reserve. The Africans

could run independent farms only on the reservations which comprised less than 13 per cent of the country's territory. As a rule, the inferior lands were allotted to the reservations. According to the law of 1913, only corvée was permitted provided that the Africans would work no less than 90 days per year for the white farmers. The lack of land and the taxes forced the Africans to go and work at industrial enterprises or on the farms of whites.

The mining industry developed rapidly owing to the extraction of diamonds and gold, and railways were built. Large monopoly associations appeared among which De Beers, the diamond company of Cecil Rhodes, was noteworthy. Britain intensively invested capital in South Africa. Proletarianisation of the African population was going ahead rapidly.

During the First World War economic development in the Union of South Africa gathered momentum. The country began to supply itself with many goods which it had formerly imported and increased its exports of agricultural produce. The extraction of coal, gold, and the products of the mining industry as a whole grew. In 1920, there were already 7,000 enterprises of the manufacturing industry, compared with 4,000 in 1915. An iron and steel state-monopoly trust (ISCOR) appeared. The working class increased in numbers correspondingly. Along with the British and Boers, there was a steep rise in the number of African workers. Thus, there were almost 270,000 African miners alone by 1920. Most of the African workers were employed in unskilled jobs.

The peoples of the Union of South Africa were increasingly involved in the class and anti-imperialist struggle. The International Socialist League (South Africa), which came into being in 1915 and united the foremost representatives of the intelligentsia and workers of European origin, was very vigorous. Under the influence of the October Revolution in Russia Marxist internationalist ideas took root in the League. In the Declaration of Principles, approved at the Fourth Congress of the League (January 1919) the goals of the working class of the Union of South Africa were proclaimed to be a proletarian revolution, and the founding of a Socialist Republic of South Africa. The declaration called for solidarity between the white and coloured workers.

The League strove to disseminate revolutionary ideas among the masses, and issued leaflets for this purpose. These leaflets contained the following appeals: "Down with British militarism!", "Down with allied intervention against Russia!" and "Down with the capitalists in all countries!" At the Constituent Congress in Cape Town in mid-1921 the League united with other socialist groups to form the Communist Party of South Africa. William Henry Andrews and Sydney P. Bunting were among its leaders. The League's weekly, *International*, became the organ of the Communist Party. Somewhat later a Zulu, Albert Nzulu, was elected one of the secretaries of the Party's Central Committee.

The African National Congress founded in 1912, the organisation called Industrial Workers of Africa, the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa, and other trade unions played a noteworthy part in the workers' and anti-imperialist movement with the Communist Party of South Africa. The African National Congress championed the granting of land to African peasants, abolition of forced labour, elimination of racial discrimination, tax cuts, and so forth. All these organisations joined in the workers' strikes. In 1918, civil servants in Johannesburg went on strike. Concurrently, tens of thousands of African miners in Witwatersrand boycotted the shops belonging to the mine owners for two months. In 1919, the dockers and railwaymen went on strike, and in 1920 tens of thousands of miners.

One of the major protests in the early 1920s was the strike of the white miners of Witwatersrand (January 1922), when tens of thousands of people downed tools to protest against wage cuts. In March 1922, the strike ended in an armed clash between the workers and a twenty-thousand-strong army (the Red Revolt). For five days, the workers, almost unarmed, fought heroically against regular troops. Many of them were killed and approximately 5,000 were arrested. The leaders of the revolt were hanged.

Taking into account the experience of the class battles, the rulers of the Union of South Africa revised their policy considerably. They became aware of the danger posed by the possible union of white and coloured workers and set about using racial prejudice to deepen the rift in the work-

ers' movement. They began to create a privileged situation for white workers. Consequently, the activity of white workers in the class struggle declined drastically in the subsequent years.

The alliance between the landowners of European origin and the British industrialists was increasingly consolidated in the political life of the Union of South Africa. The South African Party headed the government until 1924. Until 1919, the head of government was Louis Botha, who was replaced by Jan Christian Smuts. The successive governments of the South African Party were in favour of compromise with the British. This policy was opposed by the Nationalist Party, which expressed the interests of the extreme nationalists of European origin (Boers or Afrikaners). The members of this party campaigned for the complete state sovereignty of the Union of South Africa. Simultaneously, they preached extreme racialism, advanced the myth about the "Black threat" and suggested that a "colour bar" should be set up to preserve the privileged position of the Afrikaners.

The Nationalist Party attained considerable success at the elections in 1924, and drawing support from the deputies of the Labour Party, formed a cabinet headed by their leader James Hertzog. The new government enacted a number of laws further increasing the exploitation and inequality of the African population. Whites were to take over from Africans all skilled jobs at institutions and private firms. Africans were not permitted to obtain engine drivers' licences, mining technologists' diplomas, etc. Ghettos, where the coloured people were resettled, were set up in towns and cities.

During the world economic crisis of 1929-1933 world diamond prices fell, causing many mines to be closed and swelling the army of unemployed. Famine ensued from the drought of 1931. Many peasants fled to the towns from the reservations. The exacerbation of class contradictions and the increased racialism led to a more intensive struggle in the Union of South Africa. Left sentiment became stronger in workers' and national organisation. The left wing took over the leadership of the African National Congress. The Communist Party of South Africa put great efforts into creating trade unions of African workers (the African Federation of Trade Unions). The Communists

strode to promote and strengthen a united national front. In mid-1929, the Communist Party and other national organisations formed the League of African Rights as an organisation embracing a broad national front. The League protested against the government's racialist laws, and demanded that Africans should be granted democratic and civil rights. At the suggestion of the League, December 16 (in memory of the battle between the Africans and the Boers in 1838) was proclaimed the democratic forces' manifestation day. Big demonstrations and rallies were held on that day in 1930. The police perpetrated sanguinary reprisals against the demonstrators. After this, the League fell apart.

The world economic crisis gave fresh impetus to the workers' and peasants' movement in the Union of South Africa. In 1930, there was peasant unrest in Cape province, and there was also a general strike of the railwaymen and port workers in East London. At that time, a mass movement was developing for the abolition of permits for the African population, by means of which all kinds of racial restrictions were imposed on the Africans. In Natal province in 1933 and 1934 the mass of the people protested against the excessive taxes. The Communists played an active part in this movement, setting up action committees in a number of villages. The population of the Union of South Africa also joined the movement of solidarity with the struggle of the Ethiopian people against Italian aggression. In the face of such a wide-scale effort, the government of the Union of South Africa was forced to resort to certain reforms as well as repressions. In 1936, the Natives Land and Trust Act was passed which provided for the allotment of land to Africans. As a result, the peasant movement waned somewhat, although the workers' unrest in the cities did not cease.

In the first half of the thirties a certain regrouping took place in the ruling camp for internal and external reasons. Among the latter was the Statute of Westminster adopted in 1931, which considerably expanded the rights of the British dominions, including the Union of South Africa. This helped to smooth out some of the differences between the main bourgeois parties in the Union of South Africa. In 1933-1934, they merged to form the South African United Party and set up a coalition government

whose Prime Minister was Hertzog and Deputy Prime Minister Smuts. Some of the members of the former parties were opposed to the merger. The Anglophiles set up the Dominion Party, which favoured closer ties with Great Britain. The extreme nationalists formed the Nationalist Party allied with the patently fascist organisations.

The coalition government continued to pursue a racialist policy. According to the 1937 Industrial Conciliation Act, Africans were proclaimed servants; they did not have the rights of workers and did not therefore have the right to set up trade unions. The Africans in Cape province were struck off the general electoral register. The group of natives formed from them could elect three deputies to the lower chamber of parliament, but these had to be of European origin.

In the second half of the thirties the fascist movement became more active in the Union of South Africa. This stemmed from racialism and also the hope that the Anglo-German conflict would undermine Great Britain's domination in South Africa. The big Boer landowners and bourgeoisie encouraged fascist and racialist organisations. One of these, the secret Union of Brothers, became a major political tool in the hands of South African reaction.

After the First World War, the Union of South Africa received a League of Nations mandate to govern *South-West Africa (Namibia)*, which had belonged to the German Empire before the war. South West Africa was a poor, underdeveloped country. Its natural resources had not yet been prospected. The German colonists had set up horse and astrakhan sheep farms there and had engaged in livestock breeding. The mining of diamonds and copper had only just been started. The government of the Union of South Africa fairly swiftly took under its wing the whole of South-West Africa, resorting to armed punitive expeditions against the recalcitrant tribes. In May 1922 the Smuts cabinet sent 400 soldiers armed with four machine-guns to South-West Africa, and also ordered the shelling of African villages. Approximately 100 people, women and children among them, were killed, and 150 were thrown into prison. In 1925, the Union of South Africa conducted a similar punitive operation against the mélis community in the central part of South-West Africa. The cruel punitive acts perpetrated by the South African racialists against the

population of South-West Africa were discussed at the League of Nations, but no sanctions at all were taken against the Union of South Africa.

The authorities in the Union of South Africa increasingly expropriated the lands of the tribes living in South-West Africa. It was partitioned into two zones, the police zone and the tribal zone. The greater part of Namibia (the south and central regions) was included in the police zone where Africans had been driven into reservations and could only move about if they had permits. The police zone was intended for the European colonists. The latter did not settle in the tribal zone (the northern part of the country), and land there was not expropriated. In 1926, the authorities in the Union of South Africa decided to put up barbed wire round the reservations. They encouraged the resettlement of white colonists from the Union of South Africa in South-West Africa. Consequently, at the end of the thirties there were four whites to every ten Africans in the police zone.

To further the growth of mining (diamonds and copper) and farming, the authorities encouraged recruitment of cheap African labour at whites' enterprises and on farms.

The authorities were eager to fully annex the mandated territory of Namibia. But the League of Nations withheld approval. In 1925, a Legislative Assembly was founded in South-West Africa, consisting exclusively of white settlers. In 1934, under pressure of the South African government, the Assembly passed a resolution on joining the Union. But again the League of Nations withheld approval. All the same, the South African racialists continued their efforts to secure the final annexation of Namibia.

## Chapter 8 AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

*Australia.* A dominion of Great Britain, Australia fought in the First World War together with the countries of the Entente. More than 330,000 Australians took part in the military operations in Europe and Asia, of whom 59,000 were killed and more than 150,000 wounded. Australia's military spending topped 360 million pounds sterling. Under the Peace Treaty of Versailles, Australia received the mandate to govern former German New Guinea. The war gave great impetus to the development of Australia's economy, especially industry. Metallurgical works and engineering enterprises appeared in the country. In 1918, the manufacturing industry had 17,000 enterprises compared with 14,500 in 1913.

The war brought great benefits to the Australian bourgeoisie. For the working masses it meant new deprivations and sufferings. Unemployment persisted in the country, and prices and taxes increased. The increasingly acute nature of the class contradictions led to an upsurge in the working class movement. In August and September 1917, more than 100,000 workers took part in a general strike.

When news of the October Revolution in Russia reached Australia, the working people held rallies of solidarity with Soviet Russia, and campaigned against the participation of Australian troops in the anti-Soviet intervention. Australia had sent its warship (then at the Sea of Azov) to the shores of Soviet Russia. In a number of towns a "Hands off Russia" movement sprang up.

At its conferences, the Labour Party of Australia welcomed the Russian Revolution, supported the right of the people of Russia to determine their own fate and

protested against foreign intervention and the economic blockade of Russia.

Even before the First World War the Socialist Party, which had come into being in 1907, had disseminated the ideas of Marxism in Australia. In September 1919 Frank Anstey published the book *Red Europe* in which he truthfully recounted the actions and ideas of Lenin. In 1920, many of Lenin's works were on sale in Melbourne, including *The State and Revolution*.

The dissemination of Marxist-Leninist teaching and the influence of the October Revolution facilitated the unification of the adherents of communism into an independent party. On October 30, 1920, the representatives of the Marxist groups and the Socialist Party who had gathered at a conference, proclaimed the formation of the Communist Party of Australia. But vestiges of anarcho-syndicalism and reformism persisted in the Party. Therefore, it broke up soon after its emergence. Party unity was restored in 1922. The united party took an active part in organising aid to the working people of Russia by fund-raising.

The general radicalisation of the working-class movement alarmed the leaders of the Australian Labour Party. To preserve its influence in the trade unions, the Executive Committee of the Australian Labour Party took a decision to convene the All-Australia Congress of Trade Unions for the purpose of working out a new programme for the working-class movement. In June 1921, the trade union congress proposed by the Labourites took place in Melbourne. It approved the idea of "the socialisation of industrial production, distribution, and exchange". A conference of the Labour Party in Brisbane in October 1921 introduced this idea into its programme as the Party's ultimate goal. However, the attainment of this goal was, according to the programme, to be achieved by constitutional methods, including reforms.

After the war ended the bourgeois political forces regrouped. The National Party, which had taken shape in the war years and was in power, fell into deep decline owing to internal differences of opinion. In 1919, the Agrarian Party headed by Earl Page was founded which expressed the interests of the agricultural bourgeoisie. At the elections in 1922 the Agrarians obtained 14 seats in Par-

liament. The new government was created by the Liberals in coalition with the agrarians. It was headed by Stanley Bruce. Earl Page was also a member of the cabinet. The government of the Liberal-Agrarian coalition existed until 1929.

In the 1920s remarkable economic growth was observed in Australia. The prices of Australian wool, grain, and meat grew considerably on the world market. The volume of foreign capital investments in Australia's economy rapidly increased. By the end of the 1920s it had reached a sum of 1,188 million pounds sterling, almost half of which was contributed by Great Britain. A large influx of immigrants provided Australia with additional manpower. As a result, Australia considerably boosted its output of wool and head of sheep. The Australian entrepreneurs sent their goods not only to Great Britain but also to the USA and Japan.

In the conditions of capitalist stabilisation there was a decline in Australia's working-class movement. The Labour Party intensified its propaganda of class cooperation. However, the workers did not renounce the strike campaign. In 1925 and 1926 there were big strikes of sailors, dockers, and other workers. The workers' actions forced the Bruce government to renounce the law on the expulsion of undesirable elements, meaning left labour leaders from Australia.

The Communist Party took an active part in organising the strikes and directing them, waged a campaign of solidarity with the participants in the general strike in Britain in 1926, in 1927 spoke in defence of US worker activists Sacco and Vanzetti. The Communists played an important part in setting up the big trade unions of dockers, sailors, miners, and builders in 1925 and 1926. Together with the left Labourites they did, to a decisive extent, promote the foundation in 1927 of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, a united trade union centre which united in its ranks some 400,000 people. Communists and left Labourites predominated in its leading bodies. Stanley Bruce's government tried to exert pressure on the trade unions to prevent strikes. But this only undermined its positions and brought it defeat in the parliamentary elections (1929).

The world economic crisis hit the Australian economy

hard. The prices of wool and wheat fell catastrophically. In terms of value Australian exports halved in 1930 compared with 1928. In 1933, one-third of the Australian working people were unemployed. The workers' wages fell by 20 per cent.

In the federal elections in October 1929, the Liberal-Agrarian coalition lost. Most of the seats in Parliament (47 out of 66) were won by the Labourites. They formed the government headed by James Scullin.

The Australian bourgeoisie with the support of the Labour government sought a way out of the crisis at the expense of the living standard of the working people. Wage cuts began and pensions and social insurance benefits were decreased. The workers' response to this were fierce strike protests. The miners at the coal mines in New South Wales went on strike for 15 months in 1929 and 1930. The government sent troops against the strikers. Strikes were also organised by the dockers' and railwaymen's trade unions. The Australian Council of Trade Unions which was controlled by right-wing figures did not take any measures to repel the onslaught of capital.

In the years of the crisis supporters of the fascist movement appeared in Australia. A pro-fascist organisation, the New Guard, sprang up in New South Wales. Its members raided workers' meetings and threatened leaders in progressive organisations.

The Communist Party of Australia waged an active struggle against the growing fascist danger. The Party retained its ties with the trade unions. To rebuff the New Guard and organisations similar to it the Workers' Defence Corps was set up. At the beginning of the 1930s Lawrence Sharkey and other consistent fighters for the interests of the working class became the leaders of the Communist Party of Australia with beneficial results for the Party.

The Labour government failed to pull the country out of the crisis. The differences of opinion arising in this connection led to a split in the Party. The leader of the Labourites of New South Wales John Lang left the Party. At the end of 1931, the right-wing party figure Joseph Lyons and his supporters left the Australian Labour Party and founded the United Austra-

lian Party together with the National Party which obtained the majority in the Federal Parliament and in almost all the parliaments of the states at the elections in December 1931. The new government made up of representatives of the United Australian Party and the Agrarian Party was headed by Joseph Lyons (1931-1939).

In 1934, Australia's economic situation began to improve somewhat. However, the development of the economy, especially agricultural production, was slow. Industry, in particular the mining industry, developed at a comparatively more rapid pace. New branches of industry appeared (power engineering, automobiles, and aircraft building).

In the sphere of home policy the Lyons government undertook an offensive on democratic freedoms, and persecution of the Communist Party began. Special laws were passed which gave the police extensive powers for this purpose. But the ruling circles did not manage to undermine the influence of the Communists in the working-class movement. The Communist Party managed to get its members elected to the leading posts in a number of trade unions, including that of the dockers, and also to mass organisations.

The focal point of the activity of the Communist Party and all progressives was the fight against the danger of a world war and against the growing threat of international fascism. The Communists took part in the campaign to help Republican Spain. A special committee was set up in Australia to collect money, foodstuffs, and clothing for the Republicans. Australians fought in defence of the Spanish Republic as members of the International Brigades. The Communists strove to unite all the forces of the working-class and democratic movement. However, the Australian Labour Party opposed cooperation with the Communist Party and the organisations it controlled.

In the international arena on the eve of the Second World War Australia pursued Britain's foreign policy course. The Australian politicians declared that they would support Great Britain should war break out. These sentiments were fanned by the growing "Japanese threat". Japan regarded Australia as one of the important

objects of its expansion. It occupied an important place in Australia's foreign trade. However, in 1936 the Australian government imposed restrictions on trade with Japan. But with respect to Japanese aggression in China the ruling circles in Australia took a conniving stand. They also welcomed the Munich compact of the powers which gave up Czechoslovakia to Germany. Concern about a possible Japanese invasion increased in Australia.

Relations with the United States of America began to occupy an increasingly important place in the country's foreign policy. Australia regarded these relations through the prism of the imminent danger to it on the part of Japan. However, economic and political ties with the USA did not develop to any considerable extent. Australia's dependence on Great Britain and the traditional ties between them had an effect here.

Before the war Australia had become a developed capitalist country.

*New Zealand.* New Zealand, like Australia, was a dominion of Great Britain. Therefore, in 1914, in the wake of the metropolitan country, it entered the First World War on the side of the Entente countries. New Zealand soldiers were sent to Somalia and Egypt and fought in France. All in all, more than one hundred New Zealanders took part in the war of whom 17,000 were killed and more than 41,000 wounded. New Zealand spent 82 million pounds sterling for war purposes.

The war boosted the growth of industry in New Zealand. Military orders and the weakening of economic ties with Britain stimulated the development of New Zealand's industry. For its participation in the war New Zealand obtained, under the mandate of the League of Nations, the colonies of Western Samoa and the Island of Nauru (in joint possession with Britain and Australia). Thus New Zealand did itself become a colonial state.

In spite of its remoteness from the centres of the world revolutionary movement, New Zealand experienced an upsurge of the working-class and anti-imperialist movement. In 1921, the Communist Party took shape. It collected money among the country's working masses to send to Soviet Russia. The trade union masses in New Zealand welcomed the October Revolution. The

left-wing elements in the Labour Party gained in strength, too.

At the elections in 1919 the official majority of the electorates' votes was obtained by the Reform Party. Its leader William Massey retained the post of prime minister. But even at that time there was a tendency for the Labour Party to gain an increasing number of votes (132,700, which gave it 8 seats). In subsequent years the number of voters for the Labourites grew. But the Party remained reformist in its ideology and policy.

In its foreign policy New Zealand pursued a course of preserving its status as a part of the British Empire. This policy resulted from its close trade and economic ties with Britain and also from the hope that the British armed forces would ensure the defence of New Zealand. The country did not have a Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its only diplomatic representative abroad was the High Commissioner in London.

However, the development of the economy and of national political forces speeded up the emergence of New Zealand as an independent capitalist state. At the British commonwealth conferences in 1926 and 1931 New Zealand's right to independence in internal and foreign affairs was recognised. However, the British essentially retained control not only of its foreign policy but also of the main trends in its economic development. Great Britain remained responsible for its defence. British capital also predominated in the country's economy and foreign trade. In 1938, Britain accounted for some 85 per cent of New Zealand's exports and 50 per cent of its imports.

Orientated chiefly on Britain, at the end of the 1920s New Zealand began to think about new markets for its goods. For this purpose it concluded a trade agreement with Japan in 1928, according to which both countries granted each other most-favoured-nation treatment. This did not make any substantial changes in New Zealand's foreign trade. But it was the first independently concluded agreement with another state in the country's history, which was also evidence of the growing interest of New Zealanders in developing ties with the countries of Asia. Soon after this, Japanese naval

vessels made a visit to New Zealand. But in the subsequent period there was increasing concern among New Zealanders about a possible Japanese aggression.

During the world economic crisis, New Zealand was on the verge of economic collapse. Its incomes from exports fell from 57 million pounds in 1928/29 to 39.5 million in 1930/31. The prices of export goods dropped by, approximately 43 per cent. A coalition government of the National Party (formed in 1931 as a result of the merger of the Conservative and Liberal parties) was in power in the country from 1931. Firmly connected with the big bourgeoisie and the landowners, the Party sought a way out of the crisis by attacking the living standard of the working people. Back in 1928 the authorities set up a special committee which dealt with the problem of cutting unemployment. In 1939, parliament passed a law on unemployment, according to which public works were expanded for the purpose of decreasing unemployment. In September 1931, approximately 16,000 people were employed on public works. But all this did not diminish unemployment. There were 75,000 unemployed in the country in September 1933.

The working class actively protested against the shifting of the burden of the crisis onto its shoulders. In 1934, a hunger march of the unemployed on Wellington, the capital of New Zealand, was organised. To prevent the working-class movement from becoming more vigorous, the reactionary ruling circles began to encourage the profascist movement. At the beginning of the 1930s a semifascist organisation, the New Zealand Legion, appeared. The Communist Party and the trade unions actively protested against the activity of this group.

By the mid-1930s New Zealand gradually began to get out of the crisis. Exports in 1936 and 1937 added up to 64.6 million pounds. Nearly 21 million pounds was allocated to public works, and unemployed dropped to 8,300. Agriculture began to develop more intensively, the motor vehicle fleet grew and better yields of wheat were obtained. Sheep-breeding and dairy-beef cattle raising, the leading branches of agriculture, also recovered from the crisis. In 1937, the sheep

herd was 31.3 million head against 28.6 million in 1934. New Zealand considerably increased its sales of wool, butter, meat, and cheese. In the main, trade was carried on with Great Britain.

But in view of the fact that the National Party turned out to be incapable of fending off the blows dealt by the crisis, the voters refused to give it their support. In 1935, the Labourites won the elections and remained in power until 1949. They put forward a programme of turning New Zealand into a "welfare state". Their programme included stabilisation of the economy, expansion of the social security system and the redistribution of the national income. The Labourites extended social insurance, introduced a national medical service, and took measures to render aid to the Maori people, the indigenous population of the country. All this somewhat eased the condition of the working people. In this period the trade unions became more vigorous in their activity. In 1937, they united into the New Zealand Federation of Labour. The Communists were active in the trade unions. The Communist Party of New Zealand came forward under the slogans of uniting all the popular forces against the growing danger of war and the threat posed by international fascism.

In the 1930s the ties between New Zealand and other countries expanded somewhat. But in the years of the crisis the struggle among the British dominions, which had introduced bans on imports of agricultural produce, became more acute. In this connection, a commonwealth conference on economic questions was held in Ottawa in 1932, which formalised the closed economic bloc of the British Empire. By the summer of 1938 New Zealand had trade ties with 18 countries, mainly in Western Europe.

Initially, the ever more imminent danger of another world war troubled New Zealand very little. With regard to the Japanese aggression in China, it copied the British policy of appeasing the aggressor. But, at the same time, it began to increase expenditure on defence, including the construction of a base in Singapore. When Japan launched its big offensive on China in 1937, this evoked growing alarm among the New Zealanders. In the case of the Italian aggression in Ethiopia, New

Zealand took a more consistent stand than the metropolitan country. It supported the Soviet proposal on banning oil deliveries to Italy. New Zealand's Labour government was in favour of selling arms to the Spanish Republic. The representative of New Zealand in the League of Nations spoke out in favour of the necessary measures to put an end to Japanese aggression in China in 1937. In April 1939, a conference attended by Britain, New Zealand and Australia was held in Wellington, at which the problems of a joint defence effort were discussed. With respect to the Munich compact and the Anglo-Japanese Arita-Craigie (the Far-East Munich) agreement, New Zealand supported the government of Great Britain, which was conniving with the aggressor.

## Chapter 9

# THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS AND COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

## 1. The International Working-Class Movement at the Time of the Revolutionary Uprising. The Founding of the Communist International

*Struggle for the founding of the Communist International.* Three main ideological and political currents had taken shape in the international working-class movement at the turn of the 20th century: revolutionary, reformist, and centrist. The revolutionary current was represented by the Bolshevik Party with Lenin at its head, and the left wings that existed in practically all the socialist parties (e.g., the group of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in the Social-Democratic Party of Germany). All the finest proletarian forces, and the mass of the working people favoured the left-wing Socialists.

The left-wing Socialists were opposed by the right-wing Social Democrats, who adhered to reformist ideas, such as German right-wing social-democratic leaders Philipp Scheidemann, Albert Südekum, et al. Objectively, they were a hindrance to revolutionary struggle, and worked for the maintenance of the capitalist system. The trouble of the working-class movement was that nearly all the social-democratic parties were headed by right-wingers, who exercised no small influence on the working class and other strata of working people.

The third current was that of centrism. It occupied an intermediate place between the left and right Socialists. Centrism paid lip service to revolution, but in fact rejected it. The ideological leader of the centrists was Karl Kautsky, one of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.

All the three trends were represented in the Second International, the international socialist organisation which existed from 1889 till 1914. In August 1914,

when the First World War started, the Second International collapsed. The main reason for this was the treachery of the right-wing leaders of the Second International and their shift to a social chauvinist stand, in support of the imperialist governments in the war. During the war the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin raised aloft the banner of struggle against the imperialist war. In the Manifesto of the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party written by Lenin, dated November 1, 1914, the task of setting up a new Communist International was advanced for the first time. The Manifesto declared: "The proletarian internationalism has not gone under and will not go under. Notwithstanding all obstacles, the masses of the workers will create a new International."<sup>1</sup> In many of his works of the war years Lenin worked out the ideological and organisational principles of an international communist organisation.

The Bolshevik Party made use of every opportunity to unite the left-wing Socialists of all countries. Bolshevik representatives at the London Conference of Socialists of the Entente, and at the international socialist women's and youth conferences in Berne in 1915, stood up for Marxist revolutionary tactics. Lenin headed the left wing of the international socialist conference that gathered in Zimmerwald in September 1915. The left-wing Zimmerwald group presented its platform at that conference and at the Kienthal Conference the following year. The left-wing Zimmerwald group was the nucleus of the Third Communist International. But both at Zimmerwald and Kienthal, the majority was held by the centrists, who refused to adopt the revolutionary guidelines of the Bolsheviks and would not agree with the need for founding a Communist International.

The triumph of the October Revolution promoted the increasing dissemination of the ideas of the Bolshevik Party, the ideas of Leninism in the international working-class movement. The upsurge in the revolutionary and national liberation movements throughout the world made it easier to set up proletarian parties of a new

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "The War and Russian Social-Democracy", *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1974, p. 33.

type and speed up the resolution of the question of a new International. In 1918, Communist parties were founded in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Greece, the Netherlands, Finland, and Argentina. In a number of other countries Communist parties were actively being formed. In these circumstances, the Bolshevik Party took practical steps to found Comintern. In January 1918, a congress of representatives of the Socialist parties and groups was held in Petrograd which resolved to convene an international conference. An important part in the foundation of the Comintern was played by the Federation of Foreign Groups set up under the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Central Bureau of Moslem organisations of the RCP(B). The efforts of these bodies were spearheaded at uniting foreign workers, and the prisoners of war who were in Russia.

In January 1919, a conference attended by the representatives of a number of Communist and Socialist parties and organisations was held in Moscow which adopted an address to the revolutionary proletarian parties with an appeal to take part in setting up the Third International. Thereafter, invitations were sent to 39 Communist and left-wing Socialist parties and groups in a number of countries in Europe, Asia, America, and Australia to a conference on the founding of the Communist International.

The right-wing Social-Democrats, however, attempted to prevent this conference from taking place. In February 1919, they convened an International Socialist Conference in Berne (Switzerland). The agenda of the Berne Conference included the restoration of the Second International, stunting the growth of the world communist and revolutionary movement, and keeping the popular masses under the influence of bourgeois ideology. At the centre of the Conference was the question of the war guilt and, especially, that of combating Bolshevism. After a lengthy debate, the Conference took cognizance of the statement of the German Social Democrats, who in a veiled manner admitted Germany's guilt for starting the war.

At the Conference fierce attacks were made on the Bolsheviks, the October Revolution, and Soviet power in Russia.

On the colonial question the Conference in Berne adopted a resolution put forward by Kautsky which justified the imperialist oppression in the colonies and all the Socialists had to do was simply to alleviate it somewhat. The Conference spoke out in favour of the League of Nations as the "sole" means of preventing international conflicts. At the Conference it was decided to set up a Berne International (1919-1923), an international organisation of the right-wing and centrist Social-Democratic parties. However, the organisers of the Berne Conference failed to achieve their key aim, namely, that of frustrating the international conference of Communists.

*The First, Constituent Congress of the Communist International.* The International Communist Conference started on March 2, 1919, in Moscow. It was attended by 51 delegates from 30 countries, among them representatives of the communist parties of Soviet Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Finland, and other countries, as well as a number of Communist groups and Social-Democratic parties. At the Conference reports were made by representatives of the communist movements in Germany, Switzerland, Norway, the USA, Hungary, the Netherlands, the Balkan countries, France, Britain, and Turkey on the development of the class struggle and the revolutionary movement in their countries.

Then Lenin's theses and report On Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat were discussed. The defenders of the capitalist system proceeded from the concepts of "democracy in general" and "dictatorship in general", whereas Lenin exposed the groundlessness of such a non-class formulation of the question. He proved that in no other country was there either "democracy in general" or "dictatorship in general". It might be a question of either bourgeois or proletarian democracy, of either bourgeois or proletarian dictatorship.

In the resolution adopted on Lenin's report, the main task of the Communist parties in all countries where Soviet power had not yet been established was outlined. It consisted in explaining to the broad masses of the working class the need for a new, proletarian

democracy which was to replace bourgeois democracy and bourgeois parliamentarism; to spread and organise Soviets among the workers, soldiers, sailors, farm labourers and poor peasants, and to gain a sound majority in the Soviets.

As new delegations attended the Congress, it was resolved to make it Constituent Congress of the Communist International from March 4. A resolution on forming the Communist International was approved. The Congress took a decision to officially dissolve the Zimmerwald Association. Those attending the Congress called upon the workers in all countries to wage a resolute struggle against the splitting tactics pursued by the leaders of the international Social-Democratic organisation.

Of great importance was the adoption of the Platform of the Communist International and the Manifesto of the Communist International—*To the Workers of the World*. The basic programme and tactical principles of the Comintern were set out in the Platform: the inevitability of replacing capitalism by a communist system; the need for a proletarian revolution to overthrow bourgeois domination, the breaking up of the bourgeois state and substituting for it a proletarian state; the expropriation of big capital in industry and agriculture; the setting up of an alliance of the working class and the poorest peasantry and semi-proletarian strata in the towns and countryside; the establishment of firm ties between the working-class movement in the economically developed countries and the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples; the strengthening of the fraternal alliance and mutual assistance among the socialist republics.

The delegates of the Congress also approved the theses on the international situation and the policy of the Entente, heard the report on the white terror in Finland, and elected the Executive Committee of the Comintern (ECCI).

The founding of the Comintern was a great gain for the international working-class movement. Lenin emphasised that the founding of the Comintern "was a record of what has been gained not only by the Russian workers, but also by the German, Austrian,

Hungarian, Finnish, Swiss—in a word, by the workers of the world".<sup>1</sup> Right from the moment of its foundation the Communist International was not only an organisation of the proletariat of the capitalist states, but also of the working masses in the dependent countries. The First Comintern Congress was attended by Communists from Iran, Turkey, China, and Korea.

*The international working-class and communist movement at the time of the revolutionary upswing.* In 1919, the revolutionary upsurge continued to gather momentum. Soviet republics were founded in Hungary, Bavaria, and Slovakia. A movement in defence of Soviet Russia from imperialist intervention had emerged in the biggest capitalist countries. In many colonial and semi-colonial countries a mass-scale national liberation movement developed. The communist parties continued to swell and grow stronger. In 1919 and 1920, communist parties were set up in Bulgaria, Denmark, Mexico, the USA, Yugoslavia, Indonesia, Great Britain, Iran, and Spain. The Socialist parties of France and Italy, the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, the Labour Party of Norway, and others which had decided to join the Communist International, broke with the Berne International.

The Comintern paid tremendous attention to the mass revolutionary movement, appealed to the workers in all countries to rise in defence of Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary from imperialist intervention, exposed the perfidious policy of the social reformists who had opposed the revolutionary workers' struggle. The consolidation of the communist parties ideologically and organisationally remained the key task of the Comintern. An important part was played in this respect by the journal *The Communist International*, the first issue of which appeared on May 1, 1919.

Further demarcation in the working-class movement led to the emergence of new international organisations. The right-wing opportunists strove to gain the initiative in organising the masses. Following the foundation of the Berne International, they convened, in July 1919, a congress of reformist trade unions in Amsterdam

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Won and Recorded", *Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 477.

and formed the International Federation of Trade Unions (the Amsterdam International). The British and French trade union officials, who were pursuing a policy of class cooperation between labour and capital, held the leading position in the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The founding of the Comintern had a great impact on the international youth movement. In November 1919, at the International Youth Congress in Berlin the Communist Youth International was founded, which was guided by the Comintern. The Communist Youth International set itself the task of promoting a large-scale mass movement of young people to protect their economic, political, and cultural interests. It attached special importance to the campaign against militarism, war, and fascism.

The dissension among the trends in the international working-class movement created the danger of opportunist elements penetrating into the Comintern. With the revolutionary upsurge some of the reformist-minded figures in a number of the parties began to disguise their views, and, declaring their recognition of the principles of the Comintern, strove to penetrate into its ranks. This was the centrist trend whose adherents were in favour of revolution in word, but in deed they pursued an opportunist policy just as before. On the other hand, "left" Communists appeared who were opposed to the strict discipline in the party, refused to work among the masses, in the reformist trade unions and the cooperatives and denied the necessity to use parliament in championing the interests of the working class. The tasks of revolutionary struggle demanded complete delineation both from the right-wing and the centrist elements as well as the "left-wing" opportunists.

In the summer of 1920, Lenin wrote and published his outstanding work, "*Left-Wing*" Communism—an *Infantile Disorder*. He pointed out the tremendous importance of mastering Marxist theory, establishing strict discipline in the party, and defeating the right-wing and left-wing opportunists. Lenin stressed with particular force the need for Communists "to work wherever the masses are to be found",<sup>1</sup> revealed the incorrectness of the sectarian

<sup>1</sup> V. I. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism—an *Infantile Disorder*, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 53.

tactics of the "left-wing" Communists in Germany, Britain, and other countries which had led to their isolation from the masses. When referring to the experience gained by the Bolsheviks, he proved the exceptional importance of the efforts of Communists in the trade unions, even if the latter were headed by reformists, and the need to join in the parliamentary struggle; he urged that advantage should be taken of the contradictions in the enemy camp, to be ready to accept compromises, and for agreements with other parties if this would serve the cause of the proletarian revolution. Lenin's book was of great assistance to the communist movement in combating opportunism and sectarianism and in consolidating the party ranks.

These ideas were the focal point at the Second Comintern Congress (July-August 1920). The Second Congress was highly representative, attended as it was by 218 delegates from 69 organisations (communist parties, socialist parties, trade unions, youth organisations), including those from 27 Communist parties from 37 countries. The Congress was attended by representatives from the Socialist parties of Spain, France, the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany, and a few other organisations.

The Second Congress determined the basic political line, and the main tasks to be tackled by the Comintern in that historical situation, according to the report and theses written by Lenin on the international situation and the principal tasks facing the Communist International. The key task of the communist parties, as noted in the theses, was that of uniting all the forces of the Communists, forming or consolidating a single communist party in each country to prepare the proletariat to take power in its hands.

The Comintern pointed out that, if the historical aims of the proletariat were to be achieved, it ought to have its own revolutionary party. In the Congress resolution On the Role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution the view that the working class could stage a revolution without the Communist party was resolutely rejected. The Congress discussed in detail what kind of party, both in its nature and in its essence, the proletariat needed. The resolution on the conditions of admission to the Comintern (21 Conditions), pointed out the major principles of the programme and of the organisation and

tactics of a proletarian party of a new type. The 21 Conditions formed the organisational and political basis of the activities of both the Comintern and its sections. Their adoption created a barrier to those right-wing opportunists and centrists who wished to penetrate into the Comintern. Most of the conditions of admission to the Comintern expressed the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism; the rest were a consequence of the concrete historical conditions obtaining at the time.

The Congress paid great attention to discussion of the Communist parties' tactics in winning over the masses (work in the trade unions, parliamentarism, the joining by the British Communist Party of the Labour Party). The resolution The Trade Union Movement, Factory Committees, and the Third International, adopted at the Congress, defined the tasks and tactics of the communist parties in the trade union movement. The vital task to be tackled by the Communists, as pointed out by the Comintern, was that of winning over the majority of workers in the trade unions to their side. This was of tremendous importance for the success of the everyday struggle of the working class as well as for the struggle for its ultimate ends.

At the Congress, the Italian "left-wing" Communist Amadeo Bordiga and his followers who were opposed to Communists joining in the parliamentary struggle met with a rebuff. In the resolution The Communist Party and Parliamentarism, the Congress officially decreed that the Communist parties should use their deputies' speeches in parliament to their own benefit as one of the forms of their activity, to consolidate their ties with the masses and to fight for the goals of the working class. The resolution determined the main trends in the revolutionary parliamentary tactics and put forward concrete recommendations for communist deputies on political behaviour and parliamentary work.

The Comintern also spoke out in favour of the Communist Party of Great Britain joining the Labour Party while preserving the ideological and organisational independence of the Communist Party. These tactics would have paved the way for setting up a truly political party of the working class in Great Britain. The adoption by the Congress of resolutions on parliamentary and trade union

work, and other resolutions directed the Comintern and the communist parties towards a persistent and systematic effort among the masses, dealt a blow at the views of the "left-wing" Communists and also repulsed the right-wing opportunist policy.

The Congress paid great attention to the question of the leadership of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle, and the question of the allies of the working class. For the first time the Comintern discussed in detail the agrarian and national-colonial questions and adopted comprehensive relevant resolutions.

Marxist-Leninist ideas on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, on the leadership of the proletariat in the revolution were reflected in the resolution on the agrarian question. The Congress put forward serious reasons why the communist parties should adopt certain tactics with regard to the various strata of the rural population. The resolution advanced the demand that all the land of the landowners and big landed proprietors should be confiscated immediately and unconditionally. The Congress further outlined the policy to be pursued by the proletarian state in the agrarian question.

The cornerstone of the Comintern's entire policy on the national-colonial question was the rapprochement of the proletarians and working masses of all nations and countries for the joint revolutionary struggle against imperialism. The Comintern urged for the establishment of a close alliance of the international working-class movement and the national liberation movement of the dependent peoples. In the specific conditions obtaining in that period the alliance of the working-class and national liberation movements had to be primarily an alliance of all the national liberation movements and the Soviet state.

At the Second Congress the attitude of Communists to the bourgeois-democratic or national-revolutionary movement in colonial and dependent countries was discussed. As opposed to the reformists and sectarians, the Congress spoke out in support of these movements. The Congress supported Lenin's idea on the possible non-capitalist development of newly-free countries. The Congress's resolution also formulated the key tasks facing the Comintern and the communist parties with regard to the national liberation movement. They directed the communist parties

towards vigorous propaganda, agitation and organisational efforts in the dependent countries. Once these tasks had been tackled, the alliance of the international working-class movement and the movement of the peoples for their national emancipation could be further strengthened.

The questions discussed by the Second Congress were connected with the general tasks of preparing the working class, its revolutionary party, and its allies for the proletarian revolution. At the end, the Congress adopted the Comintern Statutes.

The Second Comintern Congress did a tremendous amount of theoretical work on generalising and further developing the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement.

The resolutions of the Second Comintern Congress facilitated the delineation from opportunist elements in the revolutionary workers' movement. In December 1920, most of the members of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany joined the Communist Party. At the same time, the majority of the members of the Socialist Party of France adopted a decision for their party to join the Comintern. In January 1921, the Communist Party of Great Britain finally took shape which incorporated the mass organisation of revolutionary shop stewards. At that time, the left wing of Italy's Socialist Party broke with the opportunists and centrists and formed a communist party. Communist parties emerged in Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania in this period in the course of delineation with the opportunists. The danger of the extensive penetration of opportunism into the communist movement was largely overcome.

*The Comintern's struggle for a united workers' front.* From the second half of 1920 there was a definite decline in the world revolutionary movement. The bourgeoisie strove with all the means at its disposal to overcome the revolutionary upsurge and begin an offensive at the working class. The bourgeois onslaught became especially intensive in connection with the economic crisis in the capitalist countries in 1920-1921. The imperialist reaction scored some successes during those years. Thus, the ruling circles in Germany put down the March revolutionary actions of the workers in 1921. At that time, too, the miners

and other groups of the British working class suffered a serious defeat.

Noteworthy above all among the reasons for the defeats and failures of the working-class and revolutionary movement was the split in the ranks of the proletariat. Many workers retained parliamentary illusions, which persisted owing to the intensive support of the reformist leaders of workers' organisations. A considerable part of the working class supported the Social-Democratic parties and trade unions headed by reformist leaders just as before. The latter made every effort to deepen the split in the working class and prevent the workers from going over to the side of the Communists.

The centrists were largely responsible for the split in the working class at that time. The centrist leaders convened a conference of eleven Socialist parties in Vienna in 1921, at which the Vienna International was set up (Second-and-a-Half International). The founding of the Vienna International further deepened the split in the working class and undermined its strength.

The Third Comintern Congress, held on June 22 through July 12, 1921, discussed these problems. Attended by 605 representatives from 58 countries, the Congress discussed the following questions: the world economic crisis and the new tasks facing the Comintern, its tactics, the organisational build-up of the parties, the methods and content of their work, the state of and tasks to be tackled by the trade unions, women's and cooperative movements, the German and Italian questions, and a number of others. The Congress recorded the temporary defeat of the proletariat in the revolutionary battles of 1918-1921. As its key task the Congress recommended that the Communist parties should intensify their effort to win over the masses and the majority of the proletariat.

At the Third Congress Lenin made a speech in defence of the Comintern tactics spearheaded against the supporters of the leftist "theory of an offensive". In his speech he announced that for the Communists there can be no question of whether a revolutionary offensive is permissible in principle or not. It all depends on whether they are ready for such an offensive or not. Regarding the organisational question, the Congress recommended that the communist parties should arrange their work among

the masses on the basis of factory cells. On the basis of Lenin's report, the Congress discussed and approved the tactics of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the New Economic Policy. The Communist International noted that experience gained by Soviet Communists would serve as a good example of how to manoeuvre, retreat and launch an offensive in the complicated and changing situation of the class struggle.

The Congress condemned the neutrality of the trade union movement. While the Third Comintern Congress was in progress the First Congress of the Red Trade Unions International (Profintern) attended by 380 delegates from 41 states was held from July 3 to July 19, 1921. After the war, under the influence of the October Revolution, the left wing of the trade union movement began to grow stronger and left-wing trade union organisations began to be set up in many countries. At that time, the reformists began to expel revolutionary workers from trade unions. Under these conditions, the left-wing trade unions were faced with the task of uniting into a single international centre.

The congress of revolutionary trade unions adopted a decision on setting up the Red Trade Unions International (Profintern). The vital tasks facing Profintern consisted in achieving unity in the world trade union movement on the basis of the campaign for better working conditions for the workers, improving their standard of living, developing trade union democracy, setting up a single trade union centre in each country, drawing closer together of the world proletariat with Soviet workers, consolidating the alliance of the workers with the working masses in the countries of the East, countering the offensive of fascism and the warmongers and forming a united trade union international.

The Third Comintern Congress worked out tactics for a united workers' front. Lenin considered it necessary to convene a conference of representatives of the Berne, Vienna, and Third Internationals for working out measures to achieve workers' unity.

The conference of the three Internationals was held in Berlin on April 2-5, 1922, to establish unity of action. The representatives of the Comintern suggested convening an international congress and organising a united workers'

front. But the opportunists and centrists torpedoed the agreement on the unity of action of the three international organisations of the working class.

Only the tactics of a united workers' front could frustrate the plans of reaction aimed at liquidating democratic rights and freedoms. This was again stressed by the Fourth Comintern Congress, which was held at the end of 1922 and attended by 408 delegates from 58 countries. The Congress paid serious attention to the growing danger of fascism and war. The Resolution on the Versailles Treaty adopted by the Congress revealed the deep-going internal contradictory nature of the system of post-war peace treaties. The Congress approved the theses on the Comintern's tactics.

The Congress also discussed the achievement of unity by the trade unions and the agrarian, and national-colonial questions. The theory of "the neutrality" of the trade unions was rejected once again.

However, the reformist leaders of the Berne and Vienna Internationals, who continued to deepen the split in the working-class movement, stood on the path to the unity of the working class. Owing to the subsiding tide of revolution, the reformists and centrists came to the conclusion that the main danger was over for them, that they succeeded in restraining considerable strata of the proletariat from taking the side of communism and that they could once more therefore reunite into a single organisation. In May 1923, a unifying congress of the Berne and Vienna Internationals was held in Hamburg. At the Congress the founding of a united Labour and Socialist International was legalised. Thus, the right and centrist trends in the former Second International dissociated themselves from the left wing of the working-class movement once and for all.

The setting up and activities of the Comintern in 1919-1923 were of tremendous importance for consolidating the world communist movement ideologically and organisationally, and for elaborating the principles of its strategy and tactics. The ranks of the Comintern swelled considerably. Whereas at the moment of its foundation the communist movement numbered some 300-400 thousand people, by 1922 the number of Communists throughout the world was 1,210,000. At the same time, the young

communist parties were still weak and lacked experience. This largely explained why the revolutionary upsurge did not bring victory to the proletariat. The Comintern was faced with the task of helping the communist parties to become mass revolutionary parties of a new type.

## 2. The International Working-Class and Communist Movement at the Time of Capitalism's Partial Stabilisation

*The ideological and organisational consolidation of communist parties.* At the time of capitalism's partial stabilisation there was a visible decline in the international working-class movement. During that period, the Comintern concentrated its efforts on securing the ideological and organisational consolidation of communist parties, and tightening the unity of the international working-class movement. The Fifth Congress of the Comintern convened in the summer of 1924. It defined as the chief task of the world communist movement to turn the communist parties into mass parties, into organisations that mastered the experience of Bolshevism. The line of ideological and organisational consolidation came to be known in those years as Bolshevisation.

Bolshevisation did not at all mean a mechanical adoption by the various communist parties of the experience of the CPSU. "Bolshevisation," said a resolution of the Fifth Plenum of the Comintern's Executive Committee (April 1925), "is skill in applying the general principles of Leninism in any specific situation that may arise in any given country. Bolshevisation is skill in seizing the main link that will help pull out the rest of the chain; that link may not be the same from country to country owing to the diversity of socio-political situations that we are witnessing today."

Bolshevisation meant summing up and disseminating the positive elements that existed in the experience and theory of the world communist movement as a whole.

Examining the revolutionary battles of 1923 in Germany, the Congress censured the view that united front tactics meant reaching agreement with the upper strata only. The united front had to repose on the unity of the

masses, on grassroots unity, which, however, did not at all rule out agreement on unity with the upper strata. A persevering effort was made at the Congress to squash right wing and ultra-left tendencies.

The Congress expressed full support of the struggle of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) against Trotskyism.<sup>1</sup> The Fifth Congress of the Comintern made a substantial contribution to the ideological and organisational consolidation of the Comintern and the communist parties.

Several ECCI plenums took place between the Fifth and Sixth Congresses of the Comintern. They made an in-depth analysis of the nature of relative capitalist stabilisation and of the major revolutionary actions of that time (the general strike of 1926 in Britain, the Chinese Revolution, and others). The Eighth ECCI Plenum (December 1926) dealt a crushing blow at Trotskyism on an international scale. In February 1926 the Comintern adopted a resolution on the incompatibility of adherence to Trotskyism and membership of the Comintern. The defeat of Trotskyism was of great significance for consolidating the world communist movement ideologically and organisationally.

*Struggle for the unity of the working-class movement.* The Comintern fought indefatigably for the unity of the working-class movement. The task of setting up a united International of trade unions was put forward by the Third Profintern Congress in July 1924. As a first step, Profintern suggested convening an International Unity Congress. However, the reactionary leaders of the Amsterdam International were opposed to trade union unity. Their main efforts were aimed at achieving class cooperation between labour and capital, at renouncing struggle by means of strikes, and at introducing compulsory state arbitration, everywhere. They disrupted the unity of action in mass-scale efforts of the workers. Thus, during the

<sup>1</sup> Trotskyism—a petty-bourgeois ideological and political current in the working-class movement, which conceals its opportunist substance behind radical leftist rhetoric; it swings characteristically from ultra-revolutionary postures to surrender to the bourgeoisie. Trotskyism surfaced at the turn of the 20th century as a variety of Menshevism in Russia and of centrism on the international scene. It was named after its ideologist, Lev Trotsky (1879–1940).

general strike of 1926 in Britain the leaders of the Amsterdam International opposed the Profintern's suggestion on joint assistance to the British workers. The Fourth Profintern Congress in March 1928 urged that the revolutionary trade unions should head the struggle of the working class for their vital interests, to overcome the ideological and organisational influence of the reformists and to continue the struggle for the unity of the trade union movement. The Congress outlined the tasks facing the international trade union movement, and also examined questions on working youth, the trade union movement in colonial and semi-colonial countries, and others.

The splitting policy of the Labour and Socialist International still remained a great hindrance to the unity of the international working-class movement. In the years of capitalist stabilisation the leaders of the reformist International intensified their propaganda of various theories regarding the peaceful growth of capitalism into socialism. The Congress of the Labour and Socialist International held in Marseilles in 1925 decided to give full support to the bourgeoisie's policy of stabilising capitalism. At the same time, it declared that the participation of the Social-Democrats in bourgeois governments was a road to socialism. The leaders of the International unconditionally supported the League of Nations, the imperialist policy reflected in the Dowes's Plan and in the resolutions of the conference in Locarno, and in the suppression of the national liberation movement. They slandered the Soviet Union and the Communist International. At the Brussels Congress of the Labour and Socialist International in 1928 a resolution was adopted calling for struggle against "the dictatorship" in the USSR. In its resolution on the colonial question the Congress did in fact approve the colonial policy of imperialism. All the activities of the Labour and Socialist International, like those of the Amsterdam International, only deepened the split in the international working-class movement.

In the atmosphere of a splitting policy on the part of the right-wing Social-Democrats, the Comintern took a number of decisions which contained elements of a sectarian approach to the united front problem. So, in individual documents the united front tactics were understood as unity of action only on a grassroots level or solely as

a method of agitation, and not as a means of effecting it in practice. Some documents of that time contained statements characterising Social-Democracy as social-fascism, and its left wingers as the "most dangerous agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class". Such an approach to Social Democracy did not facilitate the setting up of a united front. Nevertheless, the reformists were mainly to blame for the split in the ranks of the international proletariat, for they had invariably rejected unity of action.

*Adoption of the Comintern programme.* The Sixth Comintern Congress, held from July 17 to September 1, 1928, occupies an important place in the history of the international working-class and communist movement. The Congress analysed the international situation, determined the stages in developing the working-class movement after the world war, noted the achievements in socialist construction in the USSR, and pointed to the inevitable destabilisation of capitalism. The conclusion was drawn at the Congress that a new period in revolutionary battles was in the offing and the tactics of "class against class" were approved; this orientated the communist parties towards preparing for the possible occurrence of an acute socio-political crisis in the capitalist countries and envisaged the intensification of the efforts to combat the reformism of Social-Democracy. The shortcoming of these tactics was that they underestimated the danger of fascism and were intended solely for the future proletarian revolutions.

The Congress paid paramount attention to the impending imperialist war. A decision was taken on waging an international campaign against war.

The Sixth Congress of the Comintern also examined the question of the revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Its decisions referred to extremely resolute support for the national liberation movement of the peoples in the colonial and dependent countries. The Congress paid special attention to defence of the Chinese revolution from imperialist intervention.

The Comintern Programme adopted at the Sixth Comintern Congress contained a profound analysis of the laws governing the development of the world capitalist system and the opposing socialist system in the Soviet

Union. The Programme generalised the tremendous wealth of international experience gained in revolutionary struggle in the capitalist countries, and also the struggle of the Soviet people for the construction of socialism. The Programme provided an analysis of prospects for and ways of development, and types of revolution in individual countries (proletarian, bourgeois-democratic, national liberation). The Comintern Programme was an extremely important ideological and theoretical document containing a profound scientific analysis of the prospects for the development of the world community and working-class movement.

### 3. Struggle for a United Workers' and Popular Front Against Fascism and War

*Changes in the balance of forces in the international arena.* The thirties were marked by substantial changes in the balance of forces throughout the world, ensuing, on the one hand, from the victory of socialism in the USSR and, on the other, from the economic crisis in the capitalist world.

Owing to the world economic crisis which had struck the capitalist countries in 1929-1933, the aggressive anti-Soviet designs of imperialism intensified. The crisis was particularly manifest in the United States. The level of industrial output in the capitalist world dropped by 36 per cent on average. The world trade turnover was only two-thirds of what it was formerly. The crisis led to a drastic deterioration in the position of the working masses. In many countries the wages of factory and office workers fell by 40-60 per cent. The number of fully unemployed in the capitalist world in 1933 was 30 million. The crisis led to the ruin of the mass of the peasants, petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie. The many-million-strong masses in the colonial world were hard hit by the crisis.

On the whole, the economic crisis seriously aggravated all the contradictions in the capitalist world, engendering conditions for a new revolutionary upsurge. In many capitalist countries big strike battles were launched, a mighty movement of unemployed and ruined peasants and

farmers started. The urban petty bourgeoisie became actively involved in the political struggle. In 1929-1932 there were 18,794 strikes in 15 major countries involving 8,515,000 people. In the years of the crisis a revolutionary situation began to take shape in a number of capitalist countries (Germany, Spain, Austria, and others). It became increasingly difficult for the imperialist bourgeoisie to rule by bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary methods. The influence of the Social-Democrats, the mainstay of bourgeois influence in the working class, waned. Revolutionary activity among the broad masses of the workers grew unprecedentedly.

The crisis promoted the fresh intensification of the national liberation movement. The national liberation revolutionary struggle continued in China. In India, a new campaign of civil disobedience was launched. In Cuba, a mighty anti-imperialist movement expressed itself in a general strike and uprising. Imperialism advanced a new reactionary force, fascism, to suppress the revolutionary movement and created a threat to the bourgeois-democratic regime in capitalist countries. The growth of fascism testified both to the weakness of the working class, disorganised by the splitting policy of the right-wing Social-Democrats, and to the weakness of the bourgeoisie itself, which was not capable of retaining its power by methods of bourgeois democracy.

A particularly reactionary variety of fascism was the German "national socialism" (Nazism). It had nothing in common with either socialism or the defence of national interests. When the Nazis came to power in Germany, the true essence of fascism was revealed to all peoples. Fascist power destroyed the best representatives of the working class in prisons and concentration camps. The fascists broke up the trade unions, cooperatives, and all legal workers' and democratic organisations. They deprived the workers of elementary social rights. Germany became the most reactionary state in the world, the major hotbed of world war. German fascism became the striking force of international counter-revolution. When in power, fascism was an undisguised terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist, and most imperialistic elements of finance capital. Its grass-roots were to be found in the petty-bourgeois strata.

The economic crisis led to aggravation of the clash between the imperialist states on the world market. A bitter economic war began among them, which grew over into a struggle to redivide the world. The imperialists hoped with the help of another world war to resolve the contradictions in the capitalist system as well. An intensive arms race began in all the imperialist countries. In Germany, Japan, and Italy the economy was put on a military footing. Chauvinism and racialism were propagandised on a tremendous scale.

Japanese imperialism began the new redivision of the world. In 1931, Japan committed an act of aggression against China. Its action undermined the positions of British and American imperialism in the Far East. However, the main instigators of a new world war were the Nazis who put the question of changing the European frontiers by means of war. Their plans included seizing part of the lands of France, the partitioning of Czechoslovakia, the annexation of Austria, the defeat and enslavement of the Soviet Union, the seizure of colonies, and so forth. Italian imperialism, which launched a military offensive against Ethiopia in 1935, played no small part in unleashing the world war. As far as the British and American imperialists were concerned, they encouraged and supported the Nazis in every possible way and rendered them colossal financial and other aid in an attempt to spearhead Germany's aggression eastwards, towards the Soviet Union. At the same time, Anglo-American contradictions continued to exacerbate, just like the differences between Britain, the USA, and France, on the one hand, and Germany, Japan, and Italy, on the other. All this created instability throughout the world and led to the unleashing of the new world war.

*Increasing gravitation towards unity against the fascist menace and war.* With the world economic crisis, the onslaught of fascism, the preparations for a world war by the imperialists, the workers' and communist movement was faced with new historical tasks. The efforts of the working class and all the progressive peace-loving forces had to be combined to defend democratic freedoms, avert a new world war, and defeat fascism. From 1932 onwards, a mass-scale international

movement against fascism and war got underway. On the initiative of the progressive intelligentsia it was decided to convene the International Anti-War Congress. This idea found a broad response among all peace champions. In spite of the tremendous impediments put up by the bourgeoisie and the leaders of the Labour and Socialist International, the International Anti-War Congress was held in Amsterdam on August 27-29, 1932. Henri Barbusse made a report on the efforts to combat the threat of an imperialist war at the Congress. The Congress was attended by workers, peasants, members of the intelligentsia, Communists, Socialists, figures from trade unions, women's and youth movements. These participants unanimously adopted a manifesto condemning the arms race and the imperialist policy of aggression and outlined concrete measures for combating the danger of war. The Congress considerably boosted the general democratic movement.

The growth of the fascist threat, especially after the Nazis came to power in Germany, activated the world anti-fascist public. The trade union organisations in Italy, Germany and Poland suggested convening a European Anti-Fascist Workers' Congress in Paris which started on June 4, 1933. The Congress was a new impressive manifestation in favour of a joint struggle against fascism.

In some capitalist countries the united front movement against the offensive of capital, fascism, and war began to gain in strength. In February 1934, armed battles against fascism flared up in Austria in the course of which the unity of the Communists and Social-Democrats was fortified. At that time (February 1934), the working class in France foiled the attempt of the fascists to seize power. For the first time in France the working class headed by the Communist Party employed the tactics of a united workers' and popular front to combat fascism. In October 1934 workers in Asturias (Spain) started a general strike which developed into an armed uprising. The October battles convinced the Spanish workers of the need for them to consolidate their unity and that of all the anti-fascist forces. The campaigns for the liberation from fascist torture-chambers of the outstanding revolutionary

fighters Georgi Dimitrov and Ernst Thälmann also testified to the success in forming a united international front of the proletariat.

The struggle of the working class in Austria, France, and Spain had a mobilising effect on the working class and other strata of the workers in the capitalist countries and confirmed the tremendous force of the united front tactics. The success of these tactics depended on all the contingents of the working class, on all organisations. Great responsibility lay with the Social-Democratic parties which were still supported by the majority of workers in the capitalist countries of Europe. The striving of the Social-Democratic workers for unity with the Communists, and the growth of their class consciousness assisted in overcoming the split in the working class movement. However, the right-wing leaders of Social-Democracy pursued a splitting policy just as before, which was particularly dangerous as fascism and war were launching their offensive. At the Congress of the Labour and Socialist International in Vienna in 1931 its leaders demagogically announced their resoluteness to fight for and protect bourgeois-democratic freedoms with all the means at their disposal. In words they even intended to respond with a socialist revolution to the fascists' attempts to seize power. However, in actual fact the right-wing Social-Democrats feared a socialist revolution most of all. Therefore, at the Vienna Congress they approved the tactics "of the lesser of the two evils" according to which they would support any bourgeois government, except a fascist one, but in deeds their efforts were chiefly aimed at fighting not against fascism, but against the communist movement.

These fatal tactics doomed the working class and all the democratic forces to inevitable defeat in the face of the fascist danger. In the years of the economic crisis the right-wing Social-Democrats invariably responded by rejecting all the Communists' suggestions regarding the setting up of a united front. Owing to this, the crisis of right-wing Social-Democracy intensified. The rejection by the German Social-Democratic Party of the united front tactics proposed by the Communists facilitated the victory of fascism. The Austrian right-wing Social-Democrats also distracted the masses from

the struggle, although it became increasingly evident that an armed clash with fascism was inevitable. All this increased the disappointment of the masses in the policy of the Social-Democratic parties. Their members began to split into two camps—the right-wing elements attempting to further the policy of class cooperation with the bourgeoisie, and the left-wing elements who spoke out in favour of establishing a united proletarian front.

The Comintern and the communist parties were in the vanguard of the struggle. During the world economic crisis many communist parties were subjected to cruel persecution by the reactionary forces. By 1935, fifty of the seventy-six communist parties and groups had had to go right underground. But, in spite of this, the Communists fought courageously for the interests of the working people. In many cases, they headed the mass actions of the workers, the general strikes, and the movement of the unemployed. Tens of thousands of Communists gave their lives fighting fascism. The communist parties were the only force that did in fact oppose fascism.

In the years of the economic crisis the Comintern strove to organise the struggle of the proletariat headed by the communist parties to combat the offensive of capital. At the Eleventh Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, which was held in the spring of 1931, an analysis was made of the economic crisis and the growing revolutionary upsurge. The Plenum pointed out to the communist parties that their activity was lagging behind the gathering revolutionary actions and proposed that greater efforts should be made to win over the masses.

Still, in the beginning not all Communists, either in the Comintern or in the various communist parties, grasped the situation and the new tasks that had arisen at the time of the economic crisis. Some Communists thought that conditions were ripening for a fresh revolutionary assault on capitalism, like those of the first few years after the October Revolution. That was why they held that the drive for proletarian power had again become the immediate and direct task of the communist parties.

The intensification of the struggle between the forces of fascism and democracy demanded of the communist parties that they should work out new tactics. The Comintern moved the centre of gravity in all its efforts to working out and putting into effect the tactics of a united front. On March 5, 1933, the Executive Committee of the Comintern appealed to all the communist parties to achieve the unity of action of the working class. However, the leadership of the Labour and Socialist International forbade their organisations to even start negotiations with the communist parties. This prohibition was confirmed by the decisions of the Paris Conference of the Labour and Socialist International in July 1933. In spite of this, the Communists strove to overcome all the hurdles in achieving unity with the Social Democrats.

The 13th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in December 1933 made an in-depth analysis of the class nature of fascism and spoke out in favour of a united front in the struggle against fascism and war. In 1934, there was unity of action the Communists and Social-Democrats attained in France, Italy, Austria, Spain, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and Greece. In October 1934, the Executive Committee of the Comintern made yet another attempt to achieve unity of action with the Labour and Socialist International. It submitted to its leadership a proposal to organise joint efforts in support of the struggle of the workers of Asturias (Spain). This time too the leaders of right-wing Social-Democracy essentially rejected the appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to create a united front. At the same time, the leaders of the Labour and Socialist International lifted the ban on their own sections entering into agreements on the united front with the Communists.

*The Seventh Comintern Congress. United popular front tactics.* The swing of the world communist movement towards a united popular front in the struggle against fascism and war was made at the Seventh Comintern Congress (July 25-August 20, 1935). The Congress, attended by 510 delegates from 65 sections of the Comintern proposed a new strategic and tactical

orientation for the communist movement corresponding to the new circumstances and the new tasks to be tackled.

The Seventh Congress discussed the report on the activity of the Executive Committee of the Communist International made by Wilhelm Pieck. The report contained an analysis of world development, the growing class and anti-fascist struggle, the situation in the world communist movement, and the communist parties were set the main task of creating a united workers' and popular front. The resolution adopted on the report contained recommendations on granting greater autonomy and initiative to the Comintern sections.

A special report by Georgy Dimitrov (Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Fight for the Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism) was devoted to the creation of a united proletarian and popular front. The Seventh Congress analysed the class essence of fascism, revealed the reasons for its coming to power in some countries and noted that if the working class employed the right tactics, launched the struggle in time and rallied round itself allies, it could defeat fascism.

The Comintern recommended employing the united front tactics in a new way, achieving an agreement on the joint actions with organisations of workers of different political trends on a factory, local, regional, nation-wide, and international scale striving for joint actions of the Communists with the Social-Democratic parties, the reformist trade unions and other organisations on the basis of short-term or long-term agreements.

The workers' united front tactics in all the capitalist countries were meant to defend the direct interests of the working class and protecting it from fascism. The Comintern advised that the masses should be rallied by means of a programme expressing the vital needs of the workers and through the joint actions of workers' organisations.

The Congress paid great attention to the unity of the trade union movement. It directed the Communists towards the achievement of trade union unity on a workshop, nation-wide, and international scale, the creation

of united class trade unions at each enterprise, in each country, a united international trade union organisation.

The idea of creating a united class political party of the working class in each country was also put forward in the decisions of the Seventh Congress. The Congress shaped the general terms in which the Communists and Socialists could be united into a single party. At the same time, it was declared that the Comintern was prepared to begin negotiations with the Labour and Socialist International on setting up a single International.

The Seventh Comintern Congress made a thorough analysis of the question of creating an extensive anti-fascist popular front on the basis of a united workers' front. It appealed to the communist parties to unite under the leadership of the proletariat the working peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the working masses of the oppressed nationalities. The struggle in defence of the specific demands made by these strata needed to be waged more actively. The Congress paid great attention to the involvement of young people, working women, the unemployed, and so forth in the united popular front. The Comintern pointed out to the communist parties the need to promote systematic ideological struggle against fascism.

At the Seventh Comintern Congress the idea was put forward of a government of the proletarian or popular front. The struggle to combat the offensive of capital, fascism, and war could intensify the political crisis. In these circumstances, the communist parties ought to put forward the cardinal slogans of control over production and the banks, the disbandment of the police, the setting up of workers' militia, and so on. These slogans could unite the broad masses and lead to the establishment of a government of the proletarian or popular front. Such a government would be of an anti-fascist nature. It would take decisive measures to counter fascism and reaction. The communist parties, the Congress pointed out, will support this government in every possible way and may be members of it, depending on the specific situation.

The decisions of the Seventh Congress envisaged the

creation of an anti-imperialist popular front in the dependent countries. The Congress recommended that the Communists should draw the masses at large into the national liberation movement, actively participate in all the anti-imperialist actions, and make every effort to achieve joint actions with the national-revolutionary and national-reformist organisations. The Congress stressed the close interrelationship of the struggle waged by the proletariat in the imperialist countries and the liberation struggle of the dependent peoples.

The spread of the united front tactics to the efforts to avert the danger of world war was of paramount importance. On the report made by Ercoli (Palmiro Togliatti) the Congress adopted the resolution On the Preparations for Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communist International. This resolution defined the concrete tasks facing the communist parties and the working class in combating the war danger. The Congress did at the same time emphasise that the struggle for peace was the central slogan of the communist parties. First of all, the Congress called upon the peoples of the world for peace and in defence of the USSR. The most important task facing the communist parties was the struggle against militarism and the arms race. The Comintern urged that the communist parties should combat chauvinism, fight for national liberation, and support national liberation wars. The communist parties were to attract into the united anti-war front all those who were interested in preserving peace.

*The struggle of peoples against fascism and war on the eve of the Second World War.* The decisions of the Seventh Congress met with great approval on the part of the broad anti-fascist forces. The rallies and meetings held in many countries showed that the Comintern's tactics were not only approved by Communists but also by Socialists and non-party people. The communist parties successfully began to fight for a united anti-fascist front. The communist parties of France, Spain, China, and Chile attained great success in putting these tactics into effect. The Comintern attempted to achieve the unity of the anti-fascist forces on an international scale as well. It strove indefatigably to forge contacts with the leadership of the Labour and Socialist

International. In 1935-1939, the Executive Committee of the Communist International addressed the leaders of the Labour and Socialist International ten times with a definite platform for united actions. However, its suggestions on joint efforts against the aggression of the fascist states in Ethiopia and Spain, and with regard to other questions were categorically rejected by the reformist leaders of the Labour and Socialist International.

Nevertheless, the Comintern did manage to make very real headway in achieving the unity of the trade union movement. That unity was achieved in France, Czechoslovakia, the USA, Romania, India, Spain, Canada, Latin America, and so on. By the end of 1937, as a considerable part of the Profintern sections had joined the trade unions associated within the framework of the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions, Profintern ceased to exist.

Before the Second World War the Communists and other peace champions effected a number of major measures aimed against the warmongers. In July 1936, a conference of representatives of the anti-war movement of the countries of Central and South-East Europe was held in Prague. In August 1936, there were anti-war demonstrations and a Peace Week in France. In September 1936, the International Peace Congress was held in Brussels attended by representatives from 35 countries. Characteristically, the leaders of the Labour and Socialist International did not wish to attend this congress.

The world communist movement, as we know, failed to prevent the onslaught of fascism and the unleashing of the Second World War, the reason for this being that the Soviet Union was the only state to pursue an active peace-loving policy. The other big powers did, in fact, encourage the aggressors. The split in the working-class movement within individual capitalist countries as well as in the international working-class movement as a whole, through the fault of right-wing Social Democrats, made it easier for the fascist bloc to start the Second World War.

## Chapter 10

# THE SECOND WORLD WAR

### 1. The Beginning of the Second World War

*The causes and nature of the Second World War.* The re-division of the world that had occurred after the First World War did not suit either Germany, or Japan, or Italy. This caused an abrupt sharpening of international contradictions, and intensified the struggle for a new re-division of the world, and for world supremacy. Furthermore, the imperialist countries had a stake in wiping out the Soviet Union by military means and resolving their contradictions partly at the expense of that country. All the same, the acute contradictions between the imperialist powers led to the emergence of two hostile blocs—the Anglo-Franco-American and the German-Japanese-Italian—which began preparing for another world war.

The German-Japanese-Italian bloc was out to re-divide the world and, indeed, establish a fascist order in all countries. Germany aimed at conquering all Europe up to the Urals, and thus establishing world supremacy. Italy was out to re-create the Roman Empire, to subjugate a considerable part of Africa, all the Middle East, and the Balkans, and to make the Mediterranean an internal Italian sea. Japan wanted to rule the Pacific Ocean and Asia up to the Urals.

Britain, the United States, and France hoped to crush their dangerous imperialist rivals—Germany, Japan, and Italy, and, besides, direct the aggressive ambitions of those three countries against the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union did its utmost to prevent another world war from breaking out, while trying to buttress its defence capacity, and to avert the emergence of a single anti-Soviet front of imperialist powers.

In the early period of the Second World War, the Soviet Union was not involved. It follows, that the war was imperialist in nature, though from the very outset it contained elements of an anti-fascist war of liberation. The struggle of the mass of the people in fascist-occupied countries became ever more distinctly anti-fascist and liberative. For a number of countries (Poland, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Holland, China, Indonesia, Burma, and a few others) the war was liberative, anti-fascist, and anti-imperialist from the very beginning. The involvement in the war of the Soviet Union and the emergence of the anti-Hitler coalition, turned the war once and for all into an anti-fascist war of liberation.

*Germany attacks Poland.* On September 1, 1939, Hitler attacked Poland. The Polish army was not strong enough to repulse the superior Nazi forces. Poland was defeated. Great Britain and France, which had been guarantors against an attack on Poland, declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939. But though they had entered the war, they continued to hope that they would succeed in directing the Nazi aggression farther East, and refrained from military operations. What we saw in the West from September 1939 to May 1940 was nothing more than a phony war. Neither side mounted active operations. When the war broke out, the United States declared its "neutrality". The US ruling quarters expected to use the prevailing situation to their benefit, to enrich themselves and increase their country's power.

*Soviet Union acts to buttress the security of its frontiers.* With a world war in full swing, the Soviet Union did its utmost to buttress its frontiers. Germany's attack on Poland and Poland's defeat, the advance of Nazi troops closer to the borders of the Soviet Union, and concern for the lot of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian population in Eastern Poland, prompted Moscow to send the Red Army into Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, which had been seized from Russia by the reactionary Polish government in 1920. The Red Army set out on its liberative campaign on September 17, 1939. In November 1939, Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia were incorporat-

ed in the respective republics of the Soviet Union. The Baltic republics also presented a grave danger. Nazi Germany was bent on seizing control over Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in order to use their territory for an attack on the Soviet Union. The policy of those three countries was anti-Soviet and anti-national. In September and October 1939, however, the Soviet Union signed mutual assistance treaties with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. But their bourgeois governments did not live up to their terms. The working people resolutely opposed the pro-Nazi policy of their governments. On July 14-15, 1940, free elections took place in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, in which working people's representatives triumphed. The new governments requested the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to incorporate their countries in the Soviet Union. Their request was granted.

Soviet-Finnish relations were highly strained at the beginning of the war. The governments of the United States, Britain, France and Germany prompted Finland to conduct an anti-Soviet policy. In April 1938, the Soviet Government had called on Finland to negotiate mutual security. But Finland's rulers refused to consider the Soviet proposals and began preparing for war, organising incidents on the border, and opening fire on Soviet territory. Hostilities between Finland and the Soviet Union began on November 30, 1939. The war continued throughout the winter of 1939/1940. In the bitter winter fighting, the Red Army defeated the Finnish troops. A peace treaty was signed on March 12, 1940. The Soviet-Finnish border crossing the Karelian Isthmus was moved 120 kilometres north, thus consolidating Soviet security.

The next step in heightening its security was taken by the Soviet Union on the border with Romania. On June 26, 1940, the Soviet Government demanded that Romania should return Bessarabia, which had been forcibly annexed by bourgeois-landlord Romania in 1918, to the Soviet Union, and that it should also cede Northern Bukovina, whose population was Ukrainian. On June 28, 1940, the Red Army entered Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina. Liberated Bessarabia and Soviet Moldavia were merged on August 2, 1940, to form

the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. Thus, one more step was made in strengthening the defence capability of the Soviet Union in face of an imminent Nazi aggression.

*The unfolding of Nazi aggression, and the surrender of France.* By the spring of 1940, Nazi Germany was ready to expand hostilities. It invaded Denmark and Norway on April 9, 1940. Denmark surrendered at once. Norway, whose resistance was soon crushed, was overrun too. The Nazi invasion of Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg began on May 10, 1940, and within several days the three countries were totally occupied. Crossing them, Nazi troops thrust into France. The phony war was over. Italy declared war on France and Britain on June 10, 1940. France surrendered on June 17. Nazi troops occupied Northern France. A part of France, with its centre in Vichy, was not occupied; it became a puppet state obeying the wishes of Nazi Germany.

With hostilities gaining in intensity, the two contending groups of imperialist powers consolidated themselves. Germany, Italy, and Japan signed their Tripartite Pact on September 27, 1940, under which they were committed to render each other every assistance (military, economic, and political), if one of the signatories found itself at war with any other power. The signatories defined their spheres of influence and domination. Germany and Italy were to rule Europe, and Japan—East Asia. The political and military alliance of the three fascist states was distinctly anti-Soviet and aimed at extending the fascist aggressions.

After France had been defeated, Britain and the United States began to move closer towards each other. On September 2, 1940, they signed an agreement under which the United States gave Britain 50 destroyers, and in return received the lease of naval and air bases on a number of British New World islands for a term of 99 years. On March 11, 1941, the United States enacted Lend-Lease Act, which allowed the President to lend or lease military materiel to any country whose defence was of vital importance for the USA. Under the Act military aid was at once granted to Britain and Greece.

In the meantime, the countries of the fascist bloc

committed new acts of aggression. Italy mounted an attack on Greece on October 28, 1940. Germany struck out against Yugoslavia and Greece on April 6, 1941. The Yugoslav Government signed a surrender instrument on April 17. Greece was overrun before the end of April. Large-scale fighting was under way in Northern Africa.

While German aggression proceeded in Europe, Japan, too, took aggressive actions in the Far East. On September 23, 1940, Japanese troops occupied the northern part of Indochina, and were preparing to seize Indonesia and the Philippines. The danger of a Japanese invasion of the Soviet Union increased. In the circumstances, the Soviet Union worked for a neutrality treaty with Japan, which, indeed, was signed on April 13, 1941.

## 2. The Beginning of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union

*Germany and its allies attack the Soviet Union.* At dawn on June 22, 1941, Nazi Germany and its allies perfidiously attacked the Soviet Union without so much as a declaration of war. That was the beginning of the Soviet people's Great Patriotic War against the Nazis. The fascist bloc put something like 5 million men into the field against the Soviet state. Under Plan Barbarossa adopted in December 1940, the war against the Soviet Union was to have been what the Germans called a *blitzkrieg*, a lightning war.

The initial period of the Great Patriotic War was exceedingly unfavourable for the Soviet Union. In the first three weeks of fighting, Nazi troops advanced from 300 to 600 kilometres into the country's interior. They captured Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, a considerable part of the Ukraine, and Moldavia, and were approaching Leningrad, Kiev, Smolensk, and Odessa. The initial setbacks of the Red Army were due to the surprise factor, German superiority in troop strength and armaments, technical equipment and materiel, and the superior fighting experience of the Nazi troops.

Despite the awesome difficulties, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union managed to mobilise the nation's war effort. A State Defence Committee, formed within

the first few days of war, planned all military operations, exercised guidance over the partisan movement in the enemy rear, and directed the conversion of the Soviet economy to wartime needs. By the end of 1941, the drop in overall industrial production was halted. Factories across the country began building up output of goods that were essential for the conduct of war.

*Emergence of the anti-fascist coalition.* The Soviet Union set about forming an anti-fascist coalition. Ruling quarters in Britain and the United States were aware that if the Soviet Union were defeated, Germany would also hit their countries. On June 22, 1941, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill announced that his country would back the Soviet Union in its war against Germany, and US President Franklin D. Roosevelt followed suit on June 24. An agreement on joint action in the war against Germany was concluded between the governments of the Soviet Union and Great Britain in Moscow on July 12, 1941. Under this agreement, the signatories were committed to render each other aid and support. They also declared that they would conclude no separate peace with the enemy. On August 2, 1941, the US Administration officially informed the Soviet Government that it would render it economic aid in the war against Germany.

In early August 1941, Roosevelt and Churchill met to issue an Anglo-American declaration of war aims, known as the Atlantic Charter. Despite its moderate nature, the Soviet Government acceded to it, thus strengthening the anti-fascist coalition. At a conference held in Moscow on September 29 through October 1, 1941, the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain discussed mutual military and economic aid, and reached accords on military supplies. On November 7, 1941, the United States extended the Lend-Lease Act to the Soviet Union, and granted an interest-free loan of 1 billion dollars. This furthered the relations of the three main members of the anti-Nazi coalition. The emergence of the coalition worked in the interests of all countries fighting against Germany and its allies.

In the early months of the war, the Soviet Government did its utmost to prevent any military action against the USSR by some of the as yet neutral neighbouring

countries. Iran was a dangerous seat of subversive activity against the Soviet Union. On the suggestion of the British Government, it was decided to send British and Soviet troops into Iran in August 1941. On January 29, 1942, the Soviet Union, Britain and Iran signed a treaty of alliance that provided for Iran's territorial integrity and sovereignty and pledged that it would be defended in the event of aggression.

The Soviet Government sought to prevent Turkey from joining the war on Germany's side. On June 25, 1941, the Turkish government published a declaration of neutrality, and on August 10, the Soviet Union and Britain reciprocated with a statement promising to respect the territorial inviolability of Turkey and expressing readiness to aid it in the event of an attack by any European power. This statement had a distinct influence on Turkey's posture.

The Red Army victory in the Battle of Moscow (December 1941) helped to consolidate the anti-fascist coalition. It was the first major defeat inflicted on the German army since the beginning of the Second World War. Besides, it frustrated the Nazi *blitzkrieg* strategy against the Soviet Union.

At the height of the German offensive against Moscow, the rulers of Japan decided to start a war against the United States of America. On December 7, 1941, a Japanese naval force which included several aircraft carriers mounted a surprise attack on the US naval base of Pearl Harbour. As a result the United States lost 18 major warships, including 8 battleships, and many lesser ships and aircraft. Three days later, Japanese planes sank Britain's Pacific fleet. This gave Japan a decisive naval advantage in the Pacific. Between December 1941 and March 1942, Japan captured the Philippines, Thailand, Burma, Malaya, Singapore, and Indonesia. The Japanese attack on the United States widened the theatre of war operations. On December 11, 1941, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States. US Congress responded by declaring war on Germany and Italy.

On January 1, 1942, diplomatic representatives of 26 countries gathered in Washington to sign the Declaration of the United Nations. Its signatories pledged them-

selves not to conclude a separate armistice or peace with the enemy. This furthered the consolidation and expansion of the anti-fascist coalition.

The Anglo-Soviet Treaty of Alliance in the War against Hitlerite Germany and Her Associates in Europe and of Collaboration and Mutual Assistance Thereafter, signed in London on May 26, 1942, was another act that strengthened the anti-Hitler coalition. No less important was the Soviet-American agreement on the principles applicable to mutual aid in the war against aggression, signed in Washington on June 11, 1942. It defined the mutual commitments of the two sides: the United States supplied the Soviet Union with defence materiel, while the Soviet Union undertook to supply the United States with defence materiel, services, benefits, and defence information. This agreement, coupled with the Anglo-Soviet Treaty, finalised the shaping of the anti-fascist coalition.

*The second front issue.* The Soviet government called insistently for a second front that the Allies could open in France. Not only would this ease the situation of the USSR, but also considerably speed the defeat of the Nazis, bringing closer the end of the war and saving millions of lives. But British Prime Minister Churchill took a negative stand. The absence of a second front enabled Germany to transfer dozens of divisions priorly located in Western Europe to the Eastern Front. In July and August 1942, Nazi forces succeeded in occupying the Don and Volga area (near Stalingrad) and the foothills of the Caucasus.

In the circumstances, the question of a second front was raised once again. Active correspondence began between the governments of the Soviet Union, Britain, and the United States. In May and June 1942, Vyacheslav Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, visited Britain and the USA to negotiate the second front question. An official understanding was reached that the United States and Britain would open a second front in Europe. But the Allies, especially Britain, evaded fulfilment of their undertaking to open a second front in 1942.

### 3. A Radical Turning Point in the Second World War

*The war victories of the anti-fascist coalition in 1943.* The turning point in the Second World War was prepared first and foremost by the heroic efforts of the Soviet people. In 1942, Soviet industry provided the front with more arms and equipment than German industry. It produced 25,436 aircraft and 24,668 tanks, 10,700 more aircraft and 14,200 more tanks than were made in Germany. Soviet industry sent to the front 22,000 more guns of 76-millimetre calibre and larger than Germany did. These successes were achieved in conditions when the USSR had lost a huge territory where 71 per cent of the pig iron and 58 per cent of the steel were produced, 63 per cent of the coal was mined, and 42 per cent of the energy was generated. Moreover, on the eve of the war German industry produced from one and a half to two and a half times more of the most important types of products than Soviet industry did. The upswing in the economy achieved by the Soviet people paved the way for a turning point in the military operations.

This was manifest in the great battle on the Volga which continued for six and a half months. The history of the war knows no other military battle so grandiose in its scale. The Battle of Stalingrad was fought on a territory of almost 100,000 square kilometres. More than two million men took part in it on both sides. The German offensive on the Stalingrad sector began on July 23, 1942.

The Soviet Supreme Command worked out a plan for a counter-offensive near Stalingrad which the Soviet troops began on November 19, 1942. Twenty-two German divisions comprising more than 300,000 men were surrounded in the Stalingrad pocket from which they could not escape. On the night of January 31, 1943, the Battle of Stalingrad ended in the surrender and taking captive of the besieged German troops headed by Field Marshal Paulus. The victory allowed the Red Army to finally take the strategic initiative and launch an offensive on all fronts from Leningrad to the Caucasus.

The Battle of Stalingrad was of tremendous interna-

tional significance, having become the turning point in the Second World War.

The Battle of Stalingrad was also of decisive significance for the defeat of the German and Italian forces in North Africa. Having concentrated its main forces near Stalingrad, the fascist bloc weakened its front in North Africa. On October 23, 1942 the British troops launched an offensive and achieved victory in the battle near El Alamein. The German and Italian troops hardly offered any serious resistance. But beginning in late December 1942 the Allies slowed down their drive in Africa. It was not until three months after the Battle of Stalingrad that they again activated their operations in North Africa and on May 6, 1943 the Anglo-American troops began an offensive in Tunis. One week later the German and Italian troops surrendered.

The defeat of the fascist troops in Africa created fresh possibilities for opening a second front in Europe. But even after the surrender of the German and Italian troops in Africa a second front was not opened.

By mid-1943 the focal point of the military operations of the Soviet-German front had moved to the Kursk-Orel-Belgorod zone (the Kursk Salient). The German Command had decided to give the decisive battle to the Soviet armies there. A plan was worked out for a large-scale offensive under the code name "Citadel", which envisaged the advance of German troops in two approaching columns from Orel and Kharkov for the purpose of surrounding and destroying Soviet troops on the Kursk salient. The final outcome of the "Citadel" plan, according to the designs of the fascists, was to be the complete defeat of the Soviet troops and the end of the war to Germany's advantage. The German command for its offensive near Kursk concentrated 900,000 officers and men, approximately 10,000 field guns, 2,700 tanks and self-propelled guns, including such innovations as the Panther and Tiger tanks, and more than 2,000 aircraft.

According to the Soviet plan, a fierce bombardment of enemy positions began at dawn on July 5, 1943, ten minutes before the German assault was to begin. As a result, the enemy suffered heavy losses at the very beginning of the operation. On July 12, the biggest engagement

in the battle, involving some 1,500 Soviet and German tanks and self-propelled guns, occurred in the village of Prokhorovka. The Red Army came out victorious, and mounted a counter-offensive, liberating Orel and Belgorod on August 5. The French Normandie air squadron took part in the Battle on the Kursk Salient.

The Battle of Kursk was an extremely important battle in the Second World War, laying the foundation for the complete defeat of the German army. After the victory near Kursk, the Red Army launched a general strategic offensive. In the summer and autumn of 1943 the Red Army fought its way 300-500 kilometres to the west. In the autumn of 1943 the First Polish Division and the First Czechoslovak Brigade formed in the Soviet Union fought in the battles against the German troops. An important part in driving out the Germans from the Soviet Union was played by the Soviet partisans. More than one million people fought in their ranks. As a result of the dogged struggle of the Red Army and of the entire Soviet people the course of the Second World War swung in favour of the anti-fascist forces.

Italy's surrender was the direct outcome of the defeat of the fascist troops near Kursk. On July 10, 1943, at the very height of the Battle on the Kursk Salient, the troops of Great Britain and the USA landed in Sicily. But that time, the Italian army was completely demoralised. The soldiers refused to fight and they gave themselves up in big groups. In this situation, the bourgeois circles in Italy removed from power the fascist dictator Mussolini on July 25, 1943. On September 3, 1943, Italy signed an armistice agreement and an instrument of unconditional surrender. German troops occupied the northern part of Italy. On October 13, 1943, Italy's new government declared a state of war with Germany. This is how the bloc of fascist states began to break up.

*Conferences of representatives of the USSR, USA and Great Britain in Moscow and Teheran.* The radical turning point in the war raised a number of questions to be tackled by the countries of the anti-fascist coalition how to organise the complete defeat of Germany and its allies and on the fate of the world after the war. A conference of foreign ministers — Molotov for the USSR, Eden for Britain, and Hull for the USA — ga-

thered in Moscow for this purpose on October 19 through 30, 1943. At the centre of the conference was the Soviet proposal for reducing the duration of the war and, above all, for opening the second front. The British and US representatives said an Anglo-American landing in France would be possible in the spring of 1944. Speaking of future arrangements in Germany, the US and British representatives set forth a plan of partitioning that country after the war into a number of separate states. The declaration on Italy adopted at the conference called for the extirpation of fascism. It was decided to set up a consultative council for Italy.

The declaration on Austria envisaged the restoration of a free and independent country. Also adopted by the conference was a declaration on Nazi responsibility for atrocities. One more document, the Declaration of the Four Nations on General Security, referred to the need for a universal international organisation that would work for the maintenance of world peace and security. The results of the Moscow Conference were clear evidence that the anti-fascist coalition had grown strong.

The Foreign Ministers' Conference in Moscow reached an understanding on holding a Big Three summit meeting (Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill), which took place in Teheran on November 28 through December 1, 1943. At the centre of the Teheran Conference was the question of the second front in Europe and of hastening the defeat of Germany. A decision was taken to effect a landing in the north-west and south of France by 35 Anglo-American divisions numbering 1 million men in May 1944. An important exchange of opinion took place concerning postwar problems: the future of Germany, the Polish frontiers, and the sovereignty of Finland and Iran. The Conference reached accords on a number of important international issues.

#### 4. The Crushing Defeat of Germany and Its Allies. Conclusion of the Second World War

*Red Army 1944 offensive. Disintegration of the Nazi bloc.* A victorious Red Army offensive on all fronts highlighted to year of 1944. There were major Soviet opera-

tions in June and July 1944. The enemy was flung back deep into Finland. The liberation of Poland, too, began. On August 20, 1944, a major Soviet offensive was mounted along the southern sector of the Soviet-German front. Large German and Romanian forces were surrounded and defeated near Kishinev. Favourable conditions thus arose for the anti-fascist forces in Romania. As a result, that country withdrew from the fascist bloc, concluded an armistice with the Soviet Union and its allies, and joined in the war against Germany and Hungary.

In the beginning of September 1944, the Soviet army approached Bulgaria. A Soviet note was tendered to the Bulgarian government on September 5, saying the USSR considered itself at war with Bulgaria, whose rulers had for over three years helped Germany to wage an aggressive war.

On September 8, Soviet troops crossed the border into Bulgaria, and on the following day the mass of the people, led by the Communist Party, started an uprising in Sofia and took power. Bulgaria withdrew from the fascist bloc, and participated in the war against Germany and Hungary.

Offensive Red Army operations in the North compelled the government of Finland to stop the war against the USSR. On September 4, 1944, the Finnish government accepted the Soviet armistice terms, broke off relations with Germany, and withdrew from the war. On October 20, 1944 Soviet troops entered Hungary. On December 21, a provisional national government was set by Hungarian patriots in Debrecen which declared war on Germany.

The Soviet Union rendered great assistance to the patriotic forces in Czechoslovakia. As Czechoslovak territory was liberated by the Red Army, this territory was placed under the administration of Czechoslovak authorities.

The Red Army and Czechoslovak troops carried out the Carpathian-Dukla offensive operation which was of great significance for the liberation of part of Slovakia, from September to December 1944. The advance of the Soviet armies to the west and south-west created favourable conditions for driving out the Germans from Yugoslavia, Albania, and Greece. By the autumn of 1944, encouraged by the successes of the Soviet troops, the

people's liberation army of Yugoslavia headed by the Communists liberated a large part of the country. On October 20, the Red Army drove the Nazis out of Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia, jointly with Yugoslavia's People's Liberation Army and units of the Bulgarian army. At the beginning of October, 1944, Nazi troops began moving out of Greece and Albania. In the far north of Europe, too, Soviet troops were expelling the invaders, and on October 22 they entered Norway, liberating the town of Kirkeness and other locations.

Thus, having driven out the Nazis from Soviet territory, the Red Army also brought liberation to the peoples of other war-ravaged European countries. The bloc that Hitler had knocked together, fell to pieces.

*Opening of the second front.* On June 6, 1944, the Allies landed in Normandy in northern France and thereby opened the second front. Though they had a big advantage in tools of war, and these were, moreover, massed on a small bridgehead, they did not hurry to launch a large-scale offensive against Germany proper. Still, the opening of the second front sped up the Nazis' collapse. In the autumn of 1944, the Anglo-American troops finally mounted offensive operations. But on approaching Germany's western border, they failed to breach the defensive Siegfried line on the march, and halted their advance. But the quiet that settled on the western front at the end of the autumn of 1944 did not last long. The Germans started a large-scale counter-offensive in the Ardennes. The Allies had not expected an onslaught on so large a scale, and were in a sorry plight. To save the Anglo-American forces from defeat, the Red Army mounted a powerful offensive along a huge frontage on January 12, 1945. The Soviet offensive compelled the Nazis to transfer forces from the western to the eastern front. This changed the situation in the Ardennes, frustrated the Nazi offensive there, and saved the Allied forces from disaster.

*The Crimean Conference.* Since the final defeat of Nazi Germany was near, the members of the anti-Nazi coalition had to coordinate their further actions concerning Germany, liberated Europe, and general post-war security. At Dumbarton Oaks in the outskirts of Washington, the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union,

the United States, and Britain gathered in August-September 1944 to discuss the founding of the United Nations Organisation.

A summit attended by the Soviet, British, and American heads of government conference under the code name Argonaut was held in Yalta, the Crimea, on February 4 through 11, 1945. It adopted decisions on joint action against Nazi Germany in the concluding phase of the war, right up to its unconditional surrender. The Conference resolved that after its defeat, Germany would be occupied by the Allies, its territory being divided into occupation zones. The question of Greater Berlin, and its administration, was also settled. The chief outcome of the Conference was the resolution on the extirpation of Nazism and militarism. There was also a decision on Germany's obligation to make up for the losses it had inflicted on the belligerents.

The Crimean Conference also discussed the question of the United Nations Organisation. It was resolved to hold an international conference in San Francisco on April 25, 1945, to finalise and adopt the UN Charter.

The Conference also issued the Declaration on Liberated Europe. It referred to the determination of the Big Three to assist the peoples of Europe in resolving their vital political and economic problems in a democratic context, and in asserting sovereignty and democracy. The Conference also discussed the Polish question. The Soviet delegation secured a decision favouring the establishment of a strong and independent democratic Polish state. After a sharp discussion, the Allies adopted a resolution on Poland's frontiers.

Finally, the Soviet Union gave its consent to enter the war against Japan, which had throughout the Great Patriotic War followed a hostile policy and actively assisted Nazi Germany. During the discussion of this question it was agreed to preserve the status quo of the Mongolian People's Republic; to return Southern Sakhalin to the USSR and also the Kuril Islands which had been seized by Japan. The Crimea Conference made a considerable contribution to cooperation among the powers of the anti-fascist coalition in the concluding stage of the war.

*The defeat and surrender of Nazi Germany.* From January to April 1945 the Red Army carried out its

concluding operations in the war against Hitler Germany along a front from the Baltic to the Carpathians. The enemy's East Prussian grouping was liquidated. Königsberg was taken by Soviet troops. The Vistula-Oder operation ended in the liberation of Warsaw and almost the entire territory of Poland, and the Soviet troops reaching the approaches to Berlin.

The Red Army successfully carried on an offensive in eastern Pomerania, in Lower and Upper Silesia, and in the Western Carpathians. On February 13, 1945, a 180-thousand-strong grouping of fascist troops was destroyed near Budapest. The Hungarian capital was liberated. On April 13, 1945, the Austrian capital, Vienna, was also liberated by Soviet troops. After this, the Red Army advanced in an offensive in the southern regions of Germany and towards Prague.

On the Western front the Allied armies launched an offensive in March 1945, as a result of which the Ruhr and a number of regions in West Germany were taken. In the second half of April, Soviet troops began to storm Berlin. On April 25, Berlin was surrounded. On April 30, 1945, the Red Flag was raised on the Reichstag. Hitler and Goebbels committed suicide. On May 1, the fascist troops began to give themselves up en masse. On May 2, Berlin was completely captured by the Soviet troops.

On April 29, the German troops surrendered in Italy. On May 2, they ceased resistance in Croatia, in southern and western Austria and in southern Germany. On May 5, 1945, the head of the German government, Admiral Dönitz, gave the order for the troops to lay down their arms in north-western Germany, Denmark, and Holland, but to continue the struggle on the Eastern front.

All this facilitated the advance of the Allied forces and allowed them to occupy a considerable territory rapidly. But by this time the fate of the fascist regime was sealed. After the Battle of Berlin Soviet troops continued their offensive operations. On May 6-11, 1945, Czechoslovakia was liberated.

On the night of May 8 to 9, 1945, the Instrument of Germany's Unconditional Surrender was signed in Berlin. The war in Europe unleashed by Hitler in September 1939 ended with the complete defeat of fascist Germany.

The almost four-year-long Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people was ended.

The Soviet people made the major and decisive contribution to the victory of the anti-fascist forces in the Second World War.

In accordance with the decision of the Crimea Conference even before Germany's surrender a United Nations Conference started in San Francisco on April 25, 1945, which continued its work until June 26, 1945. The Conference was attended by 282 delegates from 46 countries. Somewhat later, another four delegations were invited to take part in the Conference, including those from the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR.

As a result of the intensive struggle at the Conference the Soviet delegation succeeded in including important democratic principles in the UN Charter. The UN Charter was signed on June 26, 1945 (and entered into force on October 24, 1945). It proclaimed the main goal of the United Nations, which was to maintain international peace and security, to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace, and for the prevention of acts of aggression or other breaches of peace. The Charter defined the structure and main organs of the UN. The adoption of the Charter and the creation on its basis of the UN was an indubitable achievement of the peace-loving forces.

The defeat of Nazi Germany faced the powers of the anti-fascist coalition with the problem of the post-war peace settlement in Europe, above all with regard to Germany, and other questions connected with the Second World War. For this purpose, on July 17-August 2, 1945, a conference was held in Potsdam attended by the heads of government of three powers: Joseph Stalin (USSR), Harry Truman (USA), and Winston Churchill and then Clement Attlee (UK). The new American President, Harry Truman strove to implement a policy of American diktat at the Potsdam Conference. On the eve of the Conference (July 16) the atomic bomb was tested in the USA. In the US ruling circles this event was regarded as the basis for the policy of "atomic blackmail".

The main subject discussed at the Potsdam Conference was Germany. The decision adopted recorded the resoluteness of the Allies to completely disarm and demili-

tarise Germany and to ban all militaristic organisations there. The Conference decreed: "German militarism and nazism will be extirpated, and the Allies will take in agreement together, now and in the future, the other measures necessary to assure that Germany never again will threaten her neighbours or the peace of the world." The Potsdam Conference confirmed the decision on the establishment of a control machinery for Germany once again.

The decision of the Conference on the democratisation of Germany was of great significance.

Great attention was paid to the question of reparations. It was decided that reparation claims should be satisfied by each participating state by way of exacting from their occupation zones. The Conference also settled the question of certain territorial changes: the handing over of Königsberg and the adjacent areas to the Soviet Union and the establishment of Poland's western frontier along the Oder-Neisse. The German population was to be moved from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary to Germany proper. The Potsdam Conference resolved to constitute the Council of Foreign Ministers of the USA, Britain, the USSR, France, and China as a standing body. It was to gather at regular intervals to discuss and agree matters of mutual interest. The Conference also finalised certain issues related to the conduct of war against Japan. It resolved to arrest and put on trial war criminals. The trial of German war criminals was held in Nuremberg from November 20, 1945 to October 1, 1946, with the chief war criminals being sentenced to death.

The results of the Potsdam Conference were of great positive significance for the post-war peace settlement.

*The last stage of the Second World War. The entry of the USSR into the war with Japan.* The period from May to September 1945 was the culminating stage in the Second World War, when the Japanese aggressor was defeated with the help of the Soviet Union. Favourable conditions were created for an uprising in the national liberation movement in Asia.

Soon after the victory of the Soviet troops on the Kursk Salient the offensive operations of the USA and Britain began on the Pacific front. In November 1944 in US troops landed in the Gilbert Islands and in 1944 in

the Marshall, Mariana and Palau Islands. Simultaneously, marines landed in the Philippines, and an offensive was started in Burma. In the course of the sea battles in the area of the Philippines a crushing blow was dealt at the Japanese fleet by the Americans. On March 25, 1945, the American troops landed on the island of Okinawa (Ryukyu Archipelago).

But these defeats had not yet shaken Japan's resolution to continue the war. By optimistic estimates, the US command hoped to conclude the war in 1946. Hence, the USA and Britain pinned great hopes on the Soviet Union's participation in the war against Japan. On April 5, 1945, the Soviet Union denounced the Soviet Japanese Neutrality Pact, and declared war on Japan on August 8, 1945.

The decision of the USSR to enter the war against Japan meant that the Second World War was ended earlier and facilitated the efforts of the USA and Britain in the Pacific theatre of military operations. On August 6 and 9, 1945, American aircraft dropped atomic bombs on two Japanese cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as a result of which some 450,000 people were killed or seriously wounded. The use of an atomic weapon was not called for in those conditions by any military necessity and was an act of barbarianism and cruelty with regard to the civilian population of Japan.

Red Army units crushed the resistance of the Japanese forces (the Kwantung Army in Manchuria) within a short time, defeated the Japanese troops in Korea, on Southern Sakhalin and in the Kuril Islands. On September 2, 1945, Japan surrendered. The Second World War ended with the defeat of the bloc of fascist aggressors.

##### 5. The World During the War. The Anti-Fascist Liberation Movement of the Peoples

During the Second World War an anti-fascist liberation movement developed in many countries. The broad masses of the people headed by the working class became its main force.

*Communists fight against fascist aggression.* At the beginning of the Second World War the situation in the international working-class movement was extremely

complicated. The Labour and Socialist International, the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions formally existed until March 1940. As the fascist aggression got under way, many social-democratic parties and reformist trade unions ceased their activity and existence. Only the communist parties, united into the Communist International, were able to head the struggle of the working class and the entire people of their countries against fascism and aggression.

From the very beginning of the Second World War, the Communist International had done its utmost to consolidate all peace-loving forces in the effort of repulsing fascism and averting war. The Comintern leadership helped its sections in organising the national-liberation and anti-fascist struggle. An underground network of communist groups was formed in Czechoslovakia. An underground Party centre was formed in Berlin in 1940. The ECCI helped the Italian Communist Party to set up an internal leadership centre and a provisional bureau abroad. The ECCI helped to restore the organisation of Polish Communists, which was renamed the Polish Workers' Party. The Presidium of the ECCI worked out measures to assist the Communist Party of China (at sittings in January and March 1940).

To secure liaison with the communist movement and invigorate the anti-fascist struggle, the Comintern organised radio broadcasts to countries of the fascist bloc and the Nazi-occupied lands. By 1943, broadcasts were conducted round the clock in eighteen languages. The Comintern was also active among war prisoners. Its activities helped to enliven the peoples' fight against Nazi oppression and to secure the quickest possible defeat of the fascist bloc.

During the Second World War, however, all the complexity of the centralised leadership of the international communist movement became especially evident. The wartime conditions required of the communist parties, which had in the main become experienced, militant, and influential parties, the ability to apply Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics independently, to change the forms of struggle rapidly, to manoeuvre, to retreat and to attack. In view of this fact, on May 15, 1943 the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern adopted a

decree on the disbanding of the Communist International. The activity of the Comintern was of world-historic significance for the development of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

New forms of the workers' international unity came to the fore during the war. In October 1941, for example, an Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee was formed, whose purpose was to unite the war effort of the two nations. The Soviet trade unions made contact with the Italian unions, and with those of France and other countries. They raised the question of forming a progressive international trade union organisation. The Franco-Soviet Trade Union Committee was instituted in January 1945. The following month, a World Trade Union Conference gathered in London, and resolved to found an international trade union centre.

*Popular anti-fascist movement in Britain, the USA, Australia and Canada.* In the capitalist countries of the anti-fascist coalition (Britain, the USA, Australia, and Canada), the mass of the people exercised pressure on their governments to redouble the war effort, organised a movement of solidarity with the Soviet Union, and worked to buttress the anti-fascist bloc.

In Britain, a Conservative government under Neville Chamberlain, an exponent of appeasing Hitler Germany, held power when the Second World War broke out. But already on May 11, 1940, a new government was formed with Conservative Winston Churchill at its head. It included Labourites and Liberals. Churchill mobilised the nation's war effort. The popular sentiment in favour of combatting nazism, and the understanding that the Nazi aggression was jeopardising the very survival of Britain, prompted the British government to work hand in hand with the Soviet Union in the war against Nazi Germany and its allies. That was a far-reaching swing in Britain's foreign policy, which was welcomed by the country's working class. The number of strikes dropped abruptly, while left-wing sentiment increased, as did the workers' gravitation towards the communist movement and the Soviet Union. British progressives held countless meetings, demanding the earliest possible opening of the second front, calling for reforms, and for the removal of the Tory government. The leftward shift in wartime

paved the way for the election victory of the Labour Party on July 5, 1945. The people of Britain had, by their labour, their efforts in support of the Soviet Union, and their direct participation in the hostilities, made no small contribution to the victory over fascism.

The mass of the people of the *United States of America* also participated actively in the battle against fascism. Seeking to extract the greatest benefits from the war in Europe, the USA maintained neutrality from September 5, 1939 to December 7, 1941. During that period, the US monopolies sold arms and other commodities essential for the war effort mainly to Britain and France. As a result, US industry and agriculture shook off the effects of the crisis and depression.

On November 5, 1940, President Roosevelt was elected for a third term. He promised to redouble America's defence capacity, and to stay out of the war. Among the first things he did in his third term was to draw up the Lend-Lease bill, which Congress passed into law on March 11, 1941. Under that law, the USA greatly increased delivery of arms and other materiel to Britain.

After Hitler Germany attacked the Soviet Union, President Roosevelt said in a statement on June 24, 1941, that his country would help the Soviets in the war against the Nazis. Large solidarity meetings took place in many US cities. On November 7, 1941, the Lend-Lease Act was extended to include the USSR.

When the United States joined the war, a general mobilisation was held. But the hostilities were far away from US territory, and the vast majority of the American people had no idea of the horrors of war. Their efforts were directed to increasing war production. A wartime industrial boom erupted. It brought fabulous profits for US monopoly corporations. The demand for manpower was enormous. This and the mobilisation in the armed services reduced the number of unemployed. With the demand for manpower rising, and with wages being increased, the number of strikes decreased. Important, however, were the actions of the working class and other progressives for the early opening of the second front in Europe. But it was the policy of the ruling circles to stay out of the fighting in the decisive sectors until the other belligerents tired. That was why, indeed,

the American fighting forces did not start operations against the main enemy, Nazi Germany, until June 1944.

Presidential and Congressional elections took place in November 1944. The progressives, including the CPUSA, backed Roosevelt, who was elected President for the fourth term. But Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945. Vice-President Harry S. Truman, a man with strongly conservative views, took over as President.

The participation of the United States in the anti-fascist coalition alongside the Soviet Union was exploited by opportunist elements in the US working-class and communist movement to promote class peace between labour and capital. At the 12th CPUSA Congress, in May 1944, the opportunists succeeded in dissolving the Party and replacing it with an amorphous Communist Political Association. This amounted to betrayal of the US proletariat.

The war effort of the American people, their fight against home reactionaries who sought to wreck the unity of the anti-fascist coalition, and their involvement in the hostilities, contributed significantly to the victory over the fascist powers.

Australia, which was a British dominion, was a member of the anti-fascist coalition. On September 3, 1939, the Australian government declared war on Germany. Australia's small armed units formed part of the British troops in the military operations in Europe, the Middle East, and the Mediterranean. But on the whole, this was "a distant war" for Australia. Only after the war in the Pacific had begun was Australia threatened by Japanese invasion. The Australian troops and aircraft were involved in the military operations in Singapore and Malaya.

The war meant rapid economic development in Australia, the lessening of its dependence on Britain, and the increased influence of American imperialism. From the beginning of the war political power in the country was in the hands of the United Party (renamed the Liberal Party in 1944), which formed a bloc with the Agrarian Party. In March 1940, a coalition government was formed, headed by Robert Menzies, which pursued a conservative policy. On October 7, 1941, the Labour government which had won the elections, came to power. The Labourites favoured strict control over the econ-

omy and mobilisation of all the country's resources for the conduct of the war.

The working masses championed efforts aimed at a general struggle against the bloc of fascist states. In the war years the strike struggle of the Australian proletariat waned considerably. The working people consciously made sacrifices for the sake of the victory over fascism. The Communist Party was in the vanguard of the anti-fascist movement and tried to promote a movement of solidarity with the USSR, to consolidate the anti-fascist coalition and get a second front opened in Europe. The Australian people, the working class, and the Communist Party made their own contribution to the common cause of defeating the fascist aggressors.

Canada, another British dominion, joined Great Britain in the war against Germany on September 10, 1939. At that time a Liberal government headed by Mackenzie King was in power in the country. From the beginning of the war, Canada rendered Britain assistance in raw materials, foodstuffs, arms, and volunteers. The demand for arms and materiel caused the rapid growth of the Canadian economy. There was a serious weakening of the positions of British capital in Canada and simultaneously the penetration of American capital increased. In 1940 Canada concluded an agreement with the USA on the joint defence of North America. In 1941 an American-Canadian agreement was signed on economic cooperation.

During the war relations between Canada and the USSR improved. The Canadian government announced its support for the heroic struggle of the Soviet people against fascist Germany. On June 12, 1942, the Soviet Union and Canada established direct diplomatic relations. Canada supplied arms and materiel to the Soviet Union during the war.

The Canadian Communists headed the struggle of the working class against fascism, for freedom and democracy. However, in the initial period of the war, the Canadian government outlawed (June 4, 1940) the Communist Party and a number of other progressive organisations. In these circumstances, in August 1943, the Communists recreated their party under the name of Workers' Progressive Party. Canadian Communists

called upon the working masses to increase arms production, demanded the opening of a second front in Europe as soon as possible, and fought for the vital interests of the working people. Together with the other peoples in the anti-fascist coalition Canadian working people contributed to the common victory over fascism.

*The countries of the fascist bloc in Europe.* In the countries of the fascist bloc the conditions for the anti-fascist liberation movement were exceptionally difficult. That is why no anti-fascist mass movement arose in the main countries.

During the war in Germany there was increasing militarisation of the economy, capital was rapidly concentrated and centralised, small enterprises went bankrupt, and the fascist state exerted ever greater control over the economy. The big monopoly associations and the fascist police state turned into a single-monopoly mechanism. Germany boosted its military economic potential immeasurably by plundering the occupied countries.

In this period, the working class, all German working people, were under the power of the fascist ideology, of the Nazi party, of its state apparatus and Hitler. By means of ruthless terror the anti-fascist movement was driven deep underground. Those Communists who had not yet been imprisoned, waged a heroic struggle against the fascist dictatorship and for the defeat of its government in the war. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, which was abroad, sent instructors to Germany to organise underground work and create groups of resistance to fascism in the big industrial centres. The Uhrig, Neubauer-Poser, Gall-Nelte, Günther, Sieg-Guddorf and other groups made a considerable contribution to the struggle against fascism. At enterprises anti-fascist workers committed acts of sabotage. An anti-fascist movement also evolved among the German prisoners of war in the Soviet Union. But on the whole, the anti-fascist movement was not a mass one. The Nazis managed to trace and arrest the leaders and members of many anti-fascist groups. W. Knöchel, R. Uhrig, G. Lechleiter and others were arrested and executed.

The defeat of the Nazi forces at Stalingrad and on the Kursk Salient led to defeatist sentiment in the country.

The anti-fascist movement gained in intensity. And this despite the greater brutality and campaign of terror. At the end of 1942, Anton Saefkow, Franz Jacob, and Bernhard Bästlein set up a new anti-fascist organisation in Berlin which managed to get contact going with similar organisations in Thuringia and Saxony. In July 1943, German émigrés and prisoners of war in the USSR formed the Free Germany National Committee whose goal it was to overthrow Hitler's regime and put an end to the war. On the basis of the Committee's programme and on the initiative of the Communists the anti-fascist organisation "Free Germany", founded in Leipzig, began to operate in the autumn of 1943. In the spring of 1944 representatives of a number of underground organisations and anti-fascist groups re-established a centralised leadership of the Communist Party in Germany.

At the end of the war anti-war protests, acts of sabotage and strikes became more frequent in Germany. In the face of Germany's inevitable collapse even part of the country's ruling elite protested against the policy pursued by Hitler and his retinue. A conspiracy was organised against Hitler. On July 20, 1944, one of the conspirators, Colonel Claus von Stauffenberg, arrived at Hitler's headquarters on the Eastern front and placed a bomb in the meeting hall. An explosion occurred during the meeting, but Hitler was only slightly injured. Hitler's leadership rapidly took resolute measures to counter the plot. The conspirators were arrested and executed. In this period the fascists crushed the organisation "Free Germany", the underground centre of the Communist Party of Germany, and other anti-fascist groups in many towns. Their leaders Anton Saefkow, Bernhard Bästlein, Franz Jacob, Theodor Neubauer, Georg Schumann, and others were executed. On August 8, 1944, at Buchenwald concentration camp, the Nazis killed the leader of the Communist Party of Germany, Ernst Thälmann, who had spent eleven years in prison.

Soviet troops entered Germany in October 1944. The Nazi government took new measures to enforce total conscription. On October 18, 1944, instructions were issued on setting up a Folkssturm (people's militia). In April 1945, the Nazis made attempts to set up sub-

versive detachments ("Werwolf") in the German territory occupied by the troops of the anti-fascist coalition. Orders were given among the troops to defend every populated centre to the last man. Death by firing squad or hanging awaited officers and men who disobeyed this order. But nothing could save Nazi Germany from defeat. The fascist regime in Germany was liquidated owing to its defeat in the Second World War. The heroic struggle of relatively small number of German anti-fascists against Hitler's regime also made a contribution to the common cause of the anti-fascist struggle of peoples.

*Italy*, an ally of Germany, entered the war on June 10, 1940. The participation of Italy in the war did not bring it success. In France it obtained absolutely negligible territories. Its attempt to seize Greece ended in failure. In Africa in the first year of its military operations it lost Eritrea, Somalia and Abyssinia. Its navy suffered tremendous losses. Italy's entry into the war on the side of Germany against the Soviet Union led to its early defeat. In July 1943 the Allied armies began to occupy its territory, which brought about the collapse of the fascist regime.

Deep underground, the Italian Communist Party extended its ties with the masses, mobilising them to fight against fascism and war. In the autumn of 1941 the Communist and Socialist parties concluded a pact on unity of action. In the spring of 1942, strikes got underway in Italy.

The failures of the Italian armies at the fronts and the worsening economic and political situation in the country forced monopoly capital and the Royal Court to remove Mussolini from power. On July 25, 1943, he was arrested. Marshall Badoglio became head of government and signed an agreement on surrender. Concerned by such a turn of events, Nazi Germany occupied a considerable part of Italy. German troopers managed to free Mussolini. After this, on the demand of Hitler, Mussolini set up "social republic" government in Northern Italy. But the Italian people rose in armed struggle against the Nazi invaders. On the initiative of the Communists partisan detachments, the Garibaldi Brigades, began to form in the north of the country. National liberation committees sprang up, in which the Communist Party played a con-

spicuous role. The partisans liberated many parts of Italy and formed democratic administrative bodies there under the national liberation committees. The first democratic socio-economic measures began to be carried into effect.

In April 1945 the Resistance in Italy gained peak momentum. On April 23, on the appeal of the Communists an armed uprising started in the occupied regions of Italy. Broad strata of the population took part in it alongside the partisans. In two or three days they attained victory in Genoa, Milan, and Turin. Mussolini was captured and executed together with other war criminals. The important outcome of the struggle of the popular masses was the liquidation of fascism.

In June 1941, *Finland* joined Germany in the war against the Soviet Union. Participation in the war, the difficult economic and political situation in Finland, and its grave defeats on the fronts called forth dissatisfaction not only among the anti-fascists, but also among the soldiers who refused to fight. Deserters from the army set up detachments of "forest guards" and waged a struggle against the Nazis and the Finnish reactionaries. The partisan movement developed most vigorously in the country's north, in Lapland. The Communist Party of Finland was at the centre of anti-fascist, anti-war struggle. The left-wing Social-Democrats also criticised the government of Finland. The anti-war sentiments led to the emergence of a peaceful opposition ("the group of thirty-three"), the leading part in which was played by Juho Paasikivi and Urho Kekkonen. The Red Army offensive and the growth of opposition to the war forced the Finnish government to sign an armistice agreement on September 19, 1944 in Moscow.

Also affiliated with the fascist bloc was *Spain*. On June 14, 1940, Spain seized Tangier, in disregard of its international status. Throughout the war Spain supplied Germany with important strategic raw materials, foodstuffs and other goods. From the beginning of the Soviet-German war Franco sent the so-called Blue Division, which numbered up to 47,000 men altogether, to fight against the Soviet Union. Within the country Franco established a regime of ruthless suppression of democratic freedoms. But he did not completely manage to eradicate the

anti-fascist movement. In a number of regions (Andalusia, Lavante, Asturias, Galacia, and in Pyrenees) the guerrilla movement persisted.

*Portugal*, under the fascist regime of dictator Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, had close ties with Germany and supplied it with tungsten, copper, manganese, cotton, and rubber. The fascist countries' trade with Latin America was carried on via Portugal's ports. The progressives waged a struggle against the fascist dictatorship. The strike campaign in the country did not cease. The influence of the Communist Party increased.

On the eve of the war *Romania* was ruled by a dictatorship of the fascist type headed by King Carol II. On September 6, 1940, Carol II was made to abdicate in favour of his son Mihai, and left the country. In actual fact, power was taken over by General Ion Antonescu, who established a fascist military dictatorship. On November 23, 1940, Romania acceded to the Tripartite Berlin-Rome-Tokyo pact.

On June 22, 1941, Romanian troops invaded the USSR together with the German fascist armies. The fascist terror and the chauvinist propaganda prevented the broad masses in Romania from being drawn into the anti-fascist movement.

In June 1943, thanks to the efforts of the Communists the anti-Hitler Patriotic Front was set up consisting of the Communist Party, the Ploughmen's Front, the National-Peasant Party, and other organisations. On May 1, 1944, an agreement was concluded between the Communist Party and the Social-Democrats on setting up a United Workers' Front.

After the Soviet troops entered Romania the country's patriotic forces began preparing to overthrow the fascist dictatorship. An armed uprising flared up on August 23, 1944, in Bucharest. The rebels swiftly took possession of the key points in the capital and arrested Antonescu and his closest associates. A new government was formed, which announced Romania's withdrawal from the fascist bloc and accession to the anti-Hitler coalition. On September 12, 1944, an agreement was signed in Moscow on a truce with Romania. On October 25, 1944, the Soviet armies and Romanian military units completed the liberation of all Romanian territory.

*Hungary*, ruled by dictator Miklos Horthy, joined the bloc of fascist states. On November 20, 1940, it acceded to the Tripartite Pact. On April 11, 1941, soon after Hitler Germany attacked Yugoslavia, the Hungarian fascist government sent its troops to that country. On June 27, 1941, in the wake of Germany, Hungary made war against the Soviet Union. All genuine anti-fascist organisations had either been crushed or outlawed. The Communist Party, weakened by the savage repressions, had gone deep underground. The defeats suffered by the fascist troops gave a new lease of life to the anti-fascist movement in Hungary. There appeared striving to withdraw from the bloc with fascist Germany and conclude a separate agreement with Britain and the USA. In view of all this, with Horthy's consent German troops occupied Hungary on March 19, 1944. But the opposition to fascism and war continued to gain strength. On the initiative of the Communists, in May 1944 a Hungarian Front was set up clandestinely, consisting of the Communists, the Social-Democratic Party, the Independent Smallholders' Party and the Arrow Cross Union.

After the Red Army entered Hungary partisan detachments began to emerge, which joined in liberating Hungarian territory from the fascist troops. On December 2, 1944, a Hungarian National Independence Front was set up, and then a Provisional National Assembly, which laid the foundations for people's democratic power in the country, concluded an armistice with the USSR, the USA and Britain, and declared war on fascist Germany. On April 4, 1945, the territory of Hungary was completely liberated by Soviet troops. The weakest link in the fascist bloc was *Bulgaria*. At the beginning of the Second World War it declared its neutrality. But on March 1, 1941, Bulgaria joined the fascist bloc. German troops entered its territory. But the Bulgarian government did not venture to join in the war against the USSR. After the fascist states attacked the Soviet Union a mass anti-fascist liberation struggle evolved in Bulgaria whose organiser and inspirer was the Bulgarian Workers' Party. At the end of June 1941, the first partisan detachment emerged near the town of Razlog. Soon, similar detachments appeared in other areas of the country. From mid-1942 the Communists set

about founding a Fatherland Front which took final shape in 1943. In March and April 1943, partisan detachments were united into a rebel People's Liberation Army headed by a General Staff. On September 5, 1944, the Soviet Army crossed the Bulgarian frontier. The population of Bulgaria joyfully welcomed the Soviet troops as their liberators. In the early morning of September 9, 1944, a general armed uprising began in Sofia, as a result of which power was taken over by the working class government of the Fatherland Front. On October 28, 1944, it signed an armistice with the USSR, Great Britain, and the USA in Moscow. The Bulgarian people made a contribution to the defeat of the fascist bloc.

In spite of the tremendous difficulties, the Communists, the progressive forces of the working class and some other strata of the population in the countries of the fascist bloc waged a struggle against fascism and against war. By their courageous effort they helped to defeat the fascist states in the war and laid the foundations for social and democratic transformations.

*Resistance of the peoples in the occupied countries of Europe to the fascist invaders.* In the initial period of the war German and Italian fascist domination spread throughout Europe. A mass anti-fascist liberation struggle developed in the enslaved countries. The Resistance movement in these countries was characterised by the use of various forms of struggle, up to and including uprisings and guerrilla warfare. Broad strata of the population, such as the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and the petty and middle bourgeoisie, were involved in the struggle.

Though the war had begun, the ruling circles in France still hoped to channel fascist aggression against the Soviet Union. The mass of the people, however, was ready to fight a national war against Nazi Germany. The French Communist Party called on all patriotic forces to secure unity in the fight against Hitler. But an anti-communist campaign was mounted, followed by a government decree of September 26, 1939, dissolving the Communist Party. Also dissolved were 620 trade union organisations, and hundreds of various democratic organisations were banned.

The Reynaud government that came to power on March 21, 1940, proved totally incapable of repulsing the enemy. Paris was surrendered to the Nazis without resistance on June 14. Two days later Paul Reynaud resigned. The new government was headed by Marshal Henri Petain, who was a known fascist sympathiser. On June 22, France accepted the German surrender terms. As a result, two-thirds of the defeated country was occupied by Germany, while a reactionary regime subservient to the Nazis, was set up in the rest of the country. Petain became the head of the French puppet state with the capital in Vichy.

The French Communist Party called on the working class of France to take part in the Resistance. Communists organised underground people's committees, anti-fascist demonstrations, strikes, and sabotage. At the end of 1940, Communists began forming armed groups. A National Front was formed in France on the initiative of the Communist Party in early July 1941. Alongside the Communists, it embraced Socialists, Christian Democrats, Radical Socialists, and members of some other petty-bourgeois and bourgeois parties.

At the same time, a Free French movement came into being abroad, with its headquarters in London. It was in substance sponsored by the French bourgeoisie, and was headed by General Charles de Gaulle. In August 1940, de Gaulle began forming volunteer French armed forces in Britain. Meanwhile, an armed struggle was gathering momentum in France itself, involving the franc-tireurs (free marksmen) and guerrillas under Communists' guidance. A joint action agreement was concluded by the Communist Party and the followers of General de Gaulle in November 1942. In May 1943, a National Resistance Council was formed, embracing the Free French movement, the Communists, and all the other participants in the Resistance. On June 3, 1943, a French National Liberation Committee was set up in Algiers under de Gaulle and Henri Giraud, which performed the function of the country's provisional government.

The consolidation of the anti-fascist forces made it possible to begin preparing for an armed uprising and the final expulsion of the Nazi occupation forces from

France. In early 1944, all the organisations of the French Resistance merged in a single army called the French Interior Forces, of 500,000 men. A communist, General Jouenville, was appointed its Chief-of-Staff. On April 3, 1944, two members of the Communist Party (François Billoux and Fernand Grenier) were made members of the Provisional Government of France under de Gaulle. In the summer of 1944, armed risings erupted all over France, engulfing as many as 40 of the country's departments. Nearly half of the occupied territory of France was liberated by the patriotic forces. Resistance fighters helped the Anglo-American troops to land and dig in in Normandy. On August 19, 1944, the working class started an anti-fascist armed uprising in Paris under the Communist Party guidance. It was crowned with victory on August 25. Soon, all members of the Provisional government with de Gaulle at their head, arrived in Paris. A Franco-Soviet treaty of alliance and mutual assistance was concluded on December 10, 1944. Thus, the people of France, and above all the working class and its Communist Party, played a conspicuous part in the anti-fascist struggle.

From the beginning of the Second World War, the mass of the working people of Yugoslavia headed by the Communist Party redoubled their opposition to the government's pro-fascist home and foreign policy. Under pressure of the mass movement, Yugoslavia established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in June 1940. But in face of the expanding Nazi aggressions, the rulers of Yugoslavia adopted a defeatist attitude. On March 25, 1941, they signed an instrument of accession to the fascist Tripartite Pact. This caused an eruption of popular anger. A group of officers under General Dusan Simovic carried out a coup d'état and formed a new government. On April 5, it signed a treaty of friendship and non-aggression with the Soviet Union. A little later, however, Nazi troops swept into the country and established a fascist regime there. Two puppet states, that of Croatia and Serbia, were set up.

Soon after the country's occupation, the Communist Party formed a Military Committee and activated underground anti-fascist groups. After Germany attacked the Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the CP of

Yugoslavia launched an armed struggle under the direction of the General Staff of the Guerrilla Detachments of Popular Liberation headed by Josip Broz Tito. An armed uprising began in Serbia on July 7, 1941. A short time later, the armed struggle spread to Montenegro, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Macedonia.

In November 1942, separate armed units began merging into a People's Liberation Army. On November 26 through 27, 1942, the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia gathered in Bihać, on territory liberated by the guerrillas, for its first session. A second session, which gave the start to the birth of a new Yugoslav state, gathered a year later. It formed the first government of People's Yugoslavia, the national Committee of Liberation under Tito. In November 1944, the leaders of the people's government and the émigré government came to terms on setting up a single Yugoslav government. It was formed by Tito on March 7, 1945. On April 11, 1945, a Soviet-Yugoslav treaty of friendship, mutual aid and postwar cooperation was signed in Moscow. The liberation of Yugoslavia was completed on May 15, 1945. The heroic struggle of the Yugoslavs contributed greatly to the great anti-fascist struggle of the peoples.

Having occupied the bulk of Poland, the Nazis began plundering its people. The people of Poland could not reconcile themselves with the Nazi oppression and rose up to fight the occupation forces. The decisive part here was played by the working class and the Communists. Anti-fascist groups began springing up in Warsaw and other Polish towns from March 1942 on. In May 1942, the first units of the Gwardia Ludowa, activated by Communists, launched an armed struggle for the country's liberation from the Nazi occupation forces. Soon after Germany attacked the Soviet Union, Poland's émigré government signed a Soviet-Polish agreement on mutual aid and support in the war against Nazi Germany. The Soviet government agreed to the forming of a Polish army under General Wladyslaw Anders in the territory of the Soviet Union.

The defeats suffered by the Nazis in various war theatres worked in favour of the Polish patriots' armed struggle. A rising broke out in the Warsaw ghetto in April 1943.

On November 1, 1944, the Polish Workers' Party, the Left Socialists, and other democratic organisations, signed a manifesto on the founding of the Krajowa Rada Narodowa (National People's Council). On July 21, 1944, the Rada formed the Polish National Liberation Committee as the executive arm of the revolutionary worker-peasant authority.

In the final stage of the war, the émigré bodies tried desperately to retain influence in the country. On August 1, 1944, they started an uprising in Warsaw. But the time of the rising had not been coordinated with the Soviet Army, which had come to the approaches to Warsaw. Word of the rising inspired the people of Warsaw. The Soviet air force flew in arms, ammunition, food and equipment. Meanwhile, the Nazis sent a huge force against the Warsaw rebels and suppressed it with unspeakable brutality. Something like 200,000 people laid down their lives during the rising. Warsaw was almost totally destroyed.

The defeat of the uprising convinced many Polish patriots that the bourgeois émigré government had acted in a recklessly adventuresome way. The prestige of the Polish National Liberation Committee, on the other hand, increased. On December 31, 1944, it was converted into the Provisional government of Poland. The Soviet Union granted it every possible assistance. The USSR and Poland concluded a treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and postwar cooperation on April 21, 1945. In early May 1945, all Poland was cleared of the Nazis.

After Czechoslovakia was overrun by the German Nazis in March 1939, the people launched a struggle against the foreign invaders. At first, the struggle for liberation took the form of strikes, demonstrations, and acts of sabotage. The first partisan units sprang up in the spring of 1942.

A bourgeois émigré government and a state council under Eduard Beneš were formed in London in July 1940. A treaty of friendship, mutual aid and postwar cooperation was concluded between the USSR and Czechoslovakia in Moscow on December 12, 1943.

The partisan movement grew in scale towards the end of the war. An armed national uprising began in Slovakia on August 29, 1944. A national-democratic revolution flared up in the course of the anti-fascist struggle. In the

final stage of the war, the partisan movement was especially strong in Bohemia and Moravia. A revolutionary uprising for the liberation of Prague erupted on May 5, 1945, helped by Soviet tank forces urgently relocated from Germany. The uprising triumphed on May 9, Czechoslovakia's independence was restored.

After Albania was occupied in April 1939, the national forces launched a resistance movement. The Communist Party was founded on November 8, 1941, and provided leadership for a massive partisan movement. In March 1942, national liberation councils began to spring up in liberated areas, exercising people's power. A conference of participants in the anti-fascist struggle formed the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Front of Albania on September 16, 1942. The Soviet Union extended every support to the struggle of the Albanian patriots. The Soviet government declaration on Albania's independence (December 1942) referred to the Albanian people's right to pick its own system of government.

The first Communist Party conference in March 1943, resolved to form a regular army. In July 1943, partisan units were reorganised into a National Liberation Army, which seized control over a considerable slice of the country. The First Anti-Fascist National Liberation Congress gathered in Përmetz on May 24, 1944. It formed the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Committee, which was reorganised on October 20, 1944, as the Provisional Democratic Government of Albania. In November 1944, Albania was completely cleared of German troops. The nation recovered its independence and was able to launch its people's revolution thanks to the defeat of the fascist states by the Soviet Union and its Allies.

The Resistance movement in Greece was great in scale. The Italian invaders encountered active resistance and were driven out of the country in November 1940. But on April 6, 1941, German forces lunged into Greece and occupied the entire country by June 2. The king and the government of Greece found refuge in Egypt. Meanwhile, the people launched armed resistance, fighting for the freedom and independence of their country. In that anti-fascist struggle for liberation, the working class headed by the Communist Party served as the vanguard. A national liberation front embracing the Communist, Agrarian

ian, and Socialist parties, the Union of People's Democrats, the trade unions, and youth and employees' organisations, was formed on September 27, 1941. In December 1941, the front began forming the People's Liberation Army of Greece (ELAS). The army liberated a number of regions and helped set up bodies of people's democracy in those regions. On March 10, 1944, ELAS and other organisations formed a National Liberation Political Committee, which functioned as a provisional democratic government. Thus, the foundations were laid in Greece for a state of people's democracy. In October 1944, the country was cleared of German troops. The émigré government returned to the country, and with it came British troops, which disbanded the democratic armed forces.

By the beginning of the Second World War *Austria* formed a province of Germany. Opposition to the fascist regime had been wiped out.

In spite of this, an anti-fascist movement came into being in Austria. The Communist Party played a most active part in it. Partisan groups emerged in a number of places.

At the beginning of the Second World War the government of the *Netherlands* occupied a neutral position. But this did not save the country from being captured by the German fascists. On May 10-14, 1940, the Netherlands were occupied by German troops. Hitler's agents were placed in power backed by the fascist party headed by Anton Mussert. Queen Wilhelmina and her government emigrated to Great Britain.

Immediately after the country had been occupied, the Communist Party and the other anti-fascist forces began to struggle against the fascist invaders. Military groups were created in different areas of the country to carry out acts of sabotage and to punish traitors. Under the leadership of the Communists anti-Hitler strikes were organised. In September 1944, the internal armed forces of the Resistance were set up which were subordinated to the émigré government and the Allied command. In mid-September 1944, the Allied forces entered the Netherlands. On May 4, 1945, the German fascist troops in the country surrendered.

On May 10, 1940, the German fascist invasion of neutral *Belgium* began. On May 28 it surrendered. King Leo-

pold III remained in the country and collaborated with the Nazis. During the occupation of Belgium the fascist organisations there became more active. Fascists occupied important posts in the state apparatus and in the local bodies of power. The Walloon Legion which was sent to the Soviet-German front, was formed from them. The Communists set about organising strikes and sabotage and set up a partisan army. In November 1941, on the initiative of the Communist Party a Front of Independence emerged which united people from all walks of life. Groups of Soviet partisans operated successfully in Belgium. At the beginning of 1944 they formed the Motherland Brigade. When they entered Belgium, the Anglo-American troops received serious help from members of the Resistance movement. On September 3, 1944, detachments of the Resistance began an uprising in Antwerp. On September 20, 1944, the Belgian Parliament elected Prince Charles, the brother of Leopold III, regent of the kingdom.

When the Second World War began, *Norway* declared itself neutral, but on April 9, 1940, the German fascist troops entered Norwegian territory. On June 10 the Norwegian command signed the surrender instrument. The Norwegian King Haakon VII and the government of Johan Nygaardsvold emigrated to London and announced that they would continue the struggle against Germany. Then the Germans convened a special session of the Norwegian Storting and on September 10, 1940, compelled the deputies to vote for the abdication of the King and the resignation of the émigré government. All political parties, except the fascist party headed by Vidkun Quisling, were disbanded. On February 1, 1942, Quisling formed a "national" government which became the mainstay of the German invaders in the country.

The patriotic forces in the country did not give in to the German invaders. Outlawed, the Communists set up resistance groups in the towns and organised strikes and sabotage at enterprises. In northern Norway they got together small partisan detachments and carried out military operations against the invaders.

During the war the part of the Norwegian bourgeoisie which was opposed to the invaders set up their own organisations, which bided their time. In the autumn of 1943 all the bourgeois groups merged to form the Motherland

Front. On May 7, 1945, the German troops in Norway surrendered. The bourgeois military organisation Milorg occupied all important strategic points in the country.

On April 9, 1940, the neutrality of *Denmark* which had been declared before the war, was violated by Germany. The Danish government did not put up any resistance to the invaders and appealed to the people of their country to behave accordingly. All the bourgeois parties and the Social-Democratic Party accepted the occupation as an inevitable evil. After Germany attacked the USSR, the ruling circles in Denmark broke off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, joined the Anti-Comintern Pact and even sent volunteers to fight against the USSR. Only the Communist Party began the struggle against the fascist invaders and in the winter of 1940-1941 set up the first illegal group. From the autumn of 1941 armed groups of Communists began to emerge. In February 1942, they united into a single organisation called the Communists-Partisans. The members of the Resistance movement carried out acts of sabotage and subversion. In August 1943 anti-Hitler protests occurred in a number of places in Denmark, which turned into spontaneous uprisings.

The invaders declared a state of emergency in the country on August 29, 1943, and put an end to the activity of the Danish government. But this only intensified the Resistance movement. At the beginning of September 1943, its members set up their own control centre, the Council of Freedom, consisting of six people among whom there was one Communist. The general strike and uprising in Copenhagen at the end of June 1944 was a major event in the Resistance movement. On May 5, 1945, the German troops in Denmark surrendered.

*The neutral countries in wartime.* At the beginning of the Second World War *Sweden* declared itself neutral but did, nevertheless, carry out a partial mobilisation. In the first half of the war Swedish neutrality was of an obviously pro-German nature. Sweden rendered great material and military-economic aid to Germany's ally, Finland, in the form of foodstuffs, clothing, strategic materials, money and also a battalion of Swedish volunteers which fought on the Hanko peninsula and on the Leningrad front. Right up to September 1944 Sweden continued to trade with Germany. This

enabled Germany to exploit Sweden's economic resources.

*Switzerland* declared itself neutral one day before the war began. For a long time, the ruling circles in the country gravitated towards a pro-German policy. Swiss firms delivered arms, ammunition, vehicles, and other industrial goods to Germany. Germany obtained electricity, and loans of more than 1,800 million francs from Switzerland and used Swiss railways to transport troops and material to and from Italy.

The intelligence services of Germany, Italy, the USA and Britain functioned on the territory of Switzerland.

Towards the end of the war the government of Switzerland began to forge closer ties with the countries of the antifascist coalition. In October 1944 it approached the USSR with a proposal to restore diplomatic relations. However, taking into account Switzerland's pro-Hitler orientation in that period, the Soviet government rejected this proposal.

*The countries of Latin America.* During the Second World War the struggle of the imperialist powers for influence in Latin America became ever more intensive. The USA set out to establish a regional association of American states under its aegis. For this purpose meetings of their foreign ministers were convened regularly. The first meeting took place in September-October 1939 in Panama, where the General Declaration on the Neutrality of the American Republics and the Panama Declaration were adopted. The second meeting was held in July 1940 in Havana where the Havana Declaration was adopted. This declaration proclaimed the right of the American states to occupy the possessions of European countries in the Western Hemisphere should the threat arise of their being seized by another non-American state.

When it entered the Second World War, the USA tried to involve in it the Latin American states, too. In December 1941, the countries of the West Indies and Central America declared war on the fascist bloc. In subsequent years Mexico, Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, and other countries of Latin America declared war on the Axis powers. It was not until the beginning of 1945 that Chile and Argentina declared war on the fascist states.

The USA took advantage of the war to squeeze its competitors, Germany, Japan and Italy, out of Latin America

and to seriously jostle Britain. In February 1945 an Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace was convened in Mexico. At this conference the USA managed to get the Clayton Plan approved which was aimed at the complete subordination of the economies of the Latin American countries to its own interests. At that same time the Act of Chapultepec was adopted which under cover of slogans on the solidarity of the American peoples, their right to sovereignty, and so forth, opened the way for the United States to set up a military-political bloc of American countries.

However, the anti-imperialist processes in Latin America became more marked during the war. The curtailing of imports of industrial goods helped the national industries to develop. On the other hand, the growth in deliveries of goods to the warring countries led to the accumulation of gold and currency reserves. In a number of countries new industries began to develop. The working class swelled, the communist parties and trade unions gained in strength, and the national bourgeoisie made headway. On this basis, the anti-imperialist movement became more active. In a number of countries the dictatorial regimes were abolished (Ecuador, Guatemala, Salvador). The progressive forces started a movement of solidarity with the Soviet Union, and money, medical supplies, and food-stuffs were collected for the Soviet people and its army. Trade, cultural and political contacts began to be forged between the Latin American countries and the USSR. During the war Cuba, Mexico, Uruguay, Colombia, Costa-Rica, Chile, Venezuela, Guatemala, Brazil, and other countries either renewed or established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

At the beginning of the Second World War, the Lazaro Cárdenas government was in office in Mexico, which pursued a progressive home and foreign policy. On September 4, 1939, it declared Mexico's neutrality in the war.

During the war US influence in Mexico intensified. In March 1941, an agreement on cooperation in the struggle against the fascist powers was signed by the two countries. In December 1941, Mexico broke off diplomatic relations with the fascist states and on May 22, 1942, it declared a state of war with the Axis countries. A Mexican

air squadron fought in the battles in the Pacific as part of the US airforce. In November 1942, diplomatic relations were restored between Mexico and the Soviet Union.

Argentina declared its neutrality in the war on September 4, 1939. When the Soviet Union and then the United States entered the war, the democratic public demanded ever more insistently that Argentina should join the coalition of anti-fascist powers and declare war on the Axis powers.

On June 4, 1943, a "group of united officers", who represented the reactionary nationalistic army circles, carried out a military coup.

But a new president came to power in 1944. The country's new leaders asserted control over a number of foreign companies, expropriated some American companies and implemented incentive measures to develop national industry. The agrarian question began to be solved in part, and reforms were carried out in the social sphere. The vigorous protests of the working class compelled the government to partially restore constitutional rights. The Communist Party came out from underground. On January 26, 1944, Argentina broke off diplomatic relations with Germany and Japan, and on March 25, 1945, the government of Argentina declared war on Germany and Japan.

On the eve of the war the government of the dictator Vargas was in power in Brazil. On September 2, 1939, he announced the country's neutrality. From mid-1941, Brazil was drawn into a military alliance with the USA. In January 1942, it broke off diplomatic relations with the fascist states, and on August 22 of that year declared war on Germany and Italy.

During the war the USA managed to conclude a number of military and economic agreements with Brazil, under which American military bases were set up on the territory of Brazil and US troops stationed there. Brazil did, moreover, regularly supply the USA with strategic raw materials. As Brazil's economy developed, increasing American capital investments were made in it.

Within the country the Vargas government made partial concessions to the working people in the economic sphere, but simultaneously suppressed the democratic

movement. In spite of this, the movement of anti-fascist solidarity with the Soviet Union expanded in Brazil. From 1943 protests against the dictatorial regime became more and more vigorous. In February 1945, under the pressure exerted by the democratic movement, Vargas renounced his dictatorial rights and promised to reinstate elected bodies in the country. In April 1945 Brazil established diplomatic relations with the USSR. In May 1945, the activity of political parties was permitted.

At the beginning of the Second World War, a Popular Front government was in power in Chile, whose goal was to fight for genuine national independence. American imperialism and Chilean reaction strove to abolish this government and re-establish the power of the latifundistas and industrialists, who were linked with foreign capital. The Popular Front ceased to exist at the beginning of 1941.

Germany's attack on the USSR caused the anti-fascist movement in the country to grow and promoted the struggle to establish diplomatic relations between Chile and the USSR, to renounce the policy of neutrality, and to join the anti-fascist coalition. In November 1941, presidential elections were held in Chile, in the course of which the progressive forces formed the Democratic Alliance (Communists, Socialists, Democrats, Radicals, trade unions) and succeeded in getting their candidate, Juan Antonio Ríos, elected. In 1943, the Ríos government, under pressure from the democratic circles, broke off relations with the fascist powers. On December 11, 1944, diplomatic relations were established between Chile and the USSR. At the beginning of April 1945, the Chilean government declared war on Japan.

From the beginning of the Second World War the struggle between the forces of reaction and democracy in Cuba became ever more acute. Under pressure from the working masses, on July 5, 1940, the new Constitution of the Cuban Republic was adopted in which basic bourgeois-democratic freedoms were proclaimed. In December 1941, Cuba declared war on the fascist states. Its resources were placed at the service of the USA. A movement of solidarity with the USSR evolved in Cuba and committees for aid to the Soviet people and the other

peoples fighting against fascism were set up. On October 14, 1942, diplomatic relations were established between Cuba and the USSR.

*The countries of Asia and Africa: rise of the national liberation movement.* During the Second World War the national liberation movement was given fresh impetus in Asia and Africa. The working class, the peasantry, the national bourgeoisie and all the patriotic strata of the population joined in the liberation struggle. The peoples of China, Indochina, Burma, Malaya, and Indonesia fought energetically against the Japanese invaders. The national liberation movement became more vigorous in India and the countries of the Arab world. The peoples of Africa were also awakened to struggle. The communist parties pursued the most consistent course in the national liberation movement, and their influence grew considerably. During the war communist parties emerged in Burma, Iran, and Ceylon. The national liberation struggle undermined the domination of the imperialists in the dependent countries and further aggravated the crisis of the colonial system.

The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union against fascist Germany and its allies radically changed the international situation and opened up prospects for crushing the reactionary militarist regimes in the states of the fascist bloc, including Japan.

In September 1939, when the Second World War broke out, Japan had been fighting its aggressive war in China for already over two years. Noboyuki Abe, head of the Japanese government, declared that his country would not participate in the European war, and would concentrate its forces in the Chinese war theatre. The Konoye government that came to power in July 1940, set about creating a Japanese-sponsored Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. In early 1941, French Indochina was in fact placed under Japanese control. The Japanese government was determined to undermine the position of the United States in the region. But nearly throughout 1941, it kept on negotiations with the USA, using this as a screen for its war preparations.

Priming for a big war, the ruling circles had established a militarist fascist regime, and wiped out the remnants of bourgeois democracy. All political parties and trade un-

ions were banned. Reactionary landlord and capitalist elements formed an Association in Aid of the Throne. Societies "serving the country through production", encompassing over 5 million workers, were set up at factories and offices. The country's economy was totally subordinated to its war aims.

After Germany had attacked the Soviet Union, Japan worked out plans for a possible seizure of the Soviet Far East. It increased the numerical strength of its armies, and built up armaments on the border with the USSR. But it made haste slowly, and waited for developments on the Soviet-German front before starting a war against the Soviet Union. The Japanese concentrated their attention chiefly on preparing an attack on the United States. On October 16, 1941, a new government was formed under General Hideki Tojo, a supporter of resolute military action. On December 7, 1941, Japan started a war against the United States. At the same time, it began seizing territories in Southeast Asia. In a mere six months, the Japanese militarists captured the Philippines, Malaya, Burma, Indonesia, Indochina, and Thailand, and came close to Australia. The Japanese armed forces began to violate the terms of the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Treaty of 1941, and obstructed Soviet shipping, detaining and sinking ships belonging to the USSR.

In the summer of 1942, Japan's progress in the various war theatres was halted. The mounting military difficulties caused the internal situation in Japan to deteriorate. Tojo reorganised his government twice — first in September 1943 and again in February 1944. In July 1944, he and his government resigned. General Kumaki Koiso formed a new government, which included representatives of the main priorly disbanded political parties.

After the USSR had denounced the Neutrality Pact on April 5, 1945, owing to its systematic breaches by the Japanese, the Koiso government resigned, giving way to the government of Admiral Suzuki. The latter, however, introduced no essential changes in the country's policy. The Soviet Union entered the war against Japan on August 8, 1945, and soon Japan surrendered. The surrender instrument was signed on September 2, 1945.

When the Second World War erupted in Europe, the people of China had been resisting the Japanese aggression for the third year running. At the end of January 1940, the Japanese prompted their puppets in North and East China to set up a central government of the Chinese republic, with its capital in Nanjing. The founding of such a government was announced on March 30. Thereupon the Japanese sent more than half their troops in China against the Liberated Areas defended by the Communist-led Eighth Route and New Fourth armies, numbering something like half a million men. These two armies applied the utmost effort to halt the offensive of the Japanese aggressors. At the end of 1940, the areas liberated by the People's Liberation Army included 150 county towns in North, Central, and South China with a population of nearly 100 million. But owing to the Japanese offensive of January 1941, some of the liberated areas had to be abandoned.

Though it did not openly collaborate with the Japanese, the Guomingdang government under Chiang Kai-shek actually assisted them in combatting the Liberated Areas. GMD troops attacked liberated areas, and hit units of the People's Liberation Army. In January 1941, for example, they attacked and virtually wiped out the staff column of the New Fourth Army.

The Liberated areas shrank in size substantially in 1941 and 1942. In July 1943, too, a 600,000-strong Guomingdang army was conducting an offensive against the Shensi-Gansu-Ningxia Liberated Area. At the same time, Chiang Kai-shek's government did little more than passively resist the Japanese. In 1944, the Japanese struck out and inflicted grave setbacks on the Guomingdang troops.

The Communist Party of China did its utmost to unite the nation's patriotic forces and repulse the Japanese aggressors. But in order to buttress its own position, the Mao Zedong group repressed a large number of communist internationalists, and thus weakened the People's Liberation Army. Instead of invigorating armed operations against the Japanese invaders, Mao and his followers promoted passive wait-and-see tactics. All this delayed China's liberation. The crushing defeat that the Soviet Union inflicted on the Japanese Kwantung Army

in Manchuria enabled the People's Liberation Army to expand the Liberated Areas. The Soviet Union let the PLA have the arms it had captured from the Japanese in Manchuria. That was how the groundwork was laid for a build-up of the people's revolution in China.

By 1940, socialist forms of economy had already been created and developed in *People's Mongolia*, a working class had taken shape and quite a few achievements had been gained in economic and cultural construction. The Tenth Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in March 1940 summed up the results of non-capitalist development in the country and set the task of liquidating the vestiges of feudalism and preparing the material base for building the rudiments of a socialist system. Mongolia moved from the democratic to the socialist stage of revolution. In June 1940 the Eighth Great People's Khural adopted the new Constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic.

The Second World War delayed the construction of the material base of socialism in the Mongolian People's Republic. The people of Mongolia helped the Soviet people fight against the Nazi aggression. The country's entire economy was reorganised on military lines for the purpose of helping the USSR in the Great Patriotic War. During the war the Mongolian working people collected and sent 53,500,000 tugriks, to aid the Red Army, built the "Revolutionary Mongolia" tank column and the "Mongolian Arat" air squadron. Mongolia supplied to the USSR 445,000 horses, including more than 30,000 as a gift. In 1943, a Mongolian delegation headed by Marshal Choibalsan visited the Soviet-German front to hand over the tank column to the Soviet Army. Trainloads of gifts for Soviet soldiers were dispatched from Mongolia on five different occasions.

At the concluding stage of the war, on August 10, 1945, the Mongolian People's Republic declared war on Japan and sent an 80,000-strong Mongolian army to take part in the hostilities. The Soviet and Mongolian troops defeated the Japanese Kwantung Army. Thus, the Mongolian People's Republic made its contribution to the defeat of the fascist aggressors.

From the beginning of the Second World War the liberation movement of the peoples of *Indochina* became

ever more vigorous. In 1940, when the Japanese occupation of Indochina began, the popular masses twice rose up in rebellion. Experience dictated the need to unite all the anti-imperialist forces. On May 19, 1941, thanks to the efforts of the Communists, the League of Independent Vietnam (Vietminh League) was set up, in which workers, peasants, the national bourgeoisie and patriotic landowners were united under the leadership of the Communist Party. The Vietnamese patriots formed a revolutionary army and freed a considerable part of North Vietnam, creating a Liberated Area. On August 13, 1945, the Communist Party of Indochina adopted a decision on an armed uprising, which began on August 19. On September 2, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was proclaimed in Hanoi and a government headed by Ho Chi Minh was formed. A people's anti-imperialist national liberation revolution was thus carried out in Vietnam.

The anti-Japanese struggle intensified in *Korea* as well. The Society for Revival of the Homeland, set up in 1936 on the territory of North-East China, organised guerrilla detachments on the territory of North Korea. They carried out small military operations, and did political work among the population. The workers in the towns organised strikes, set up underground committees to prepare for an armed uprising and arranged explosions and fires on military and other such projects. Unrest also seized the peasantry. In 1941, there were almost five thousand rent conflicts. In 1942-1945, there was popular unrest in Korea which undermined the position of the Japanese invaders. The defeat of the Japanese in Korea in 1945 by the Soviet Union put an end to colonial rule in Korea.

The national liberation struggle had its own peculiarities in *India*. On September 14, 1939, in a special resolution the National Congress announced that it would support Britain in the war only if the latter would immediately set up a government in India responsible to the institution of representatives of the nation formed by elections and would promise to grant India independence after the war. The British government announced that it was prepared to grant India the status of a dominion after the war. The national forces in India were

not satisfied with this and in October 1940, on the appeal of Mohandas Gandhi, began a campaign of civil disobedience. The colonial authorities responded to this with severe repressions. The Moslem League put forward a demand that India should be divided into two states, Pakistan and Hindustan. This served as a hindrance to setting up a single front of the Indian National Congress and the League. The Communist Party of India fought to turn the war into a popular national liberation war, for the Indian people to join in the struggle against fascism. In 1942, the Communist Party of India was made legal. The Communists insistently tried to achieve the unity of all the national forces into a single front to create a national government of independent India.

*Indonesia*, too, was embroiled in a national liberation struggle. The Japanese invaders were able to occupy Indonesia fairly rapidly and easily. However, the Indonesian people were not prepared to put up with Japanese oppression. Back in 1942 the activity of the organisation, the Anti-Fascist Popular Movement, and other organisations became more vigorous. The struggle of the workers' and student organisations became increasingly energetic. One of these, the Young Generation, held a conference in Bandung in May 1945, which urged the popular masses to struggle for the country's independence. Japan's defeat in the war caused all the progressive forces to rise in a resolute struggle. On August 15, 1945, the fighters for independence proposed that the leader of the pre-war National Party, Ahmed Sukarno, should declare Indonesia's independence. Thus, the national-democratic anti-imperialist August Revolution began in Indonesia.

The Japanese invaders in the *Philippines* met with decisive resistance on the part of the national forces. The country's Communist Party headed the anti-Japanese struggle. In February 1942, on its initiative the National Anti-Japan United Front emerged. The guerrilla detachments under the leadership of the National Front united into the People's Anti-Japanese Army. The People's Army dealt telling blows at the Japanese invaders. In the areas liberated by it, people's committees were set up which carried out democratic reforms. In October 1944, US troops landed in the Philippines. The Ameri-

can ruling circles counted on restoring their domination in the Philippines. However, the popular masses protested. American imperialism had to retreat. The independent Republic of the Philippines was proclaimed.

The Japanese invaders made various manoeuvres to retain the territories conquered by them. Thus in *Burma* they assisted in setting up the Burma Independence Army headed by Aung San, hoping to use it in their own interests. However, this brought them no dividends at all. In 1944, Aung San headed the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League which included the Communist Party, the trade unions, the peasant and other national organisations. On the appeal of the League in March 1945 an Anti-Japanese uprising began in Burma which helped the British to drive the Japanese out of Burma.

An anti-Japan army of the peoples of *Malaya* headed by the Communists was formed from individual guerrilla detachments. It consisted of Malayans, Chinese and Indians. By 1945 this army had liberated a number of cities.

In the countries of the *Arab East* (some of which were the arena of military operations during the Second World War) the patriotic forces took an active part in the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist movements.

During the war the territory of *Egypt*, its army and material resources were used by Britain for carrying out military operations against the German and Italian troops in Libya. The pro-fascist elements in Egypt intended to carry out a coup d'état and kept up contacts with Germany. In February 1942, on the demand of the British, King Faruk of Egypt included in his government the Wafdist headed by Mustafa el Nahas, who mounted a fight against the pro-fascist elements. Closer to the end of the war, they began to demand complete independence for the country more insistently and called for revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. In view of this on October 8, 1944, the Wafdist government was replaced by a coalition government headed by the leader of the Saad, Ahmed Maher Pasha.

In *Syria*, which was a colony of France, the dictatorial power of the French military was established in August 1930. After France's surrender Syria was under the control of the Vichy administration. In these circumstan-

ces, the national liberation movement in Syria became more vigorous. Clashes began with the French troops. On July 8, 1941, British troops and Free French detachments entered Syria. On September 27, 1941, General Georges Catroux who commanded the Free French units announced that Syria was granted independence and sovereignty. In the early days, however, the situation in Syria hardly changed at all. It was only in 1943 that the democratic forces in the country succeeded in restoring the constitutional regime and held elections, which were won by the National Patriotic Alliance. Shukri el-Quwatli was elected the country's president. From January 1, 1944 the main administrative functions in Syria were handed over to the Syrian government. Syria established diplomatic relations with the USSR and in February 1945 declared war on Germany and Japan.

In Lebanon the situation was approximately the same as in Syria. On November 26, 1941, General Catroux announced that Lebanon had been granted independence. However, the British authorities intended to turn Lebanon into their colony. In November 1943 a conflict occurred in Lebanon between the national forces and the occupation authorities owing to the refusal of the Lebanese government to recognise the status of a mandated territory. The colonial powers were compelled to make concessions. November 22, 1943, was Independence Day for Lebanon. In 1944, diplomatic relations were established between Lebanon and the USSR. On February 6, 1945, Lebanon announced a state of war with Germany and Japan.

Iraq, which was under the domination of British imperialism, broke off diplomatic relations with Germany at the very beginning of the Second World War. Pro-British and national forces were locked in struggle inside the country. The opposition raised the troops loyal to it and on April 1, 1941, seized Baghdad; two days later it announced the establishment of its power throughout the country. However, the British troops and detachments of Iraqi reaction put down this uprising by the end of May 1941. From that time right up to 1947 Iraq was occupied by British troops. Reaction in the country gained in strength. In January 1943, Iraq officially declared

war on Germany and Italy and in August 1944 it exchanged diplomatic missions with the USSR.

After France's defeat at the first stage of the Second World War, Algeria was under the control of the puppet Vichy government and its resources were used by the bloc of fascist states. However, the patriotic anti-fascist forces in the country protested against their new lords. In November 1942 Anglo-American troops entered Algeria, while in the second half of 1943 power there was taken over by De Gaulle's administration. At this time, the national forces became more active in the struggle to gain the status of an autonomous republic for Algeria. The anti-colonial uprising in Algeria in May 1945 was cruelly quelled by French troops.

Tunisia was occupied by Italian and German troops in November 1942. The patriotic forces, first and foremost the Communists, began an active struggle against the invaders. In May 1943 the fascist troops were driven out of Tunisia and De Gaulle's administration established its control there.

Morocco (its Atlantic seaboard) was the arena of military operations in 1942-1943. In this period a Communist Party was formed in the country (1943) and the Istiqlal Party (December 1943-January 1944), which championed the country's independence. In January 1944 the leaders of the Istiqlal Party published a manifesto on the independence of Morocco.

Tropical and Southern Africa was not affected by military operations. The fascist bloc strove to further its penetration into the African countries. The United States of America also pursued this aim. The colonial powers, primarily Britain, increased shipments of raw materials and foodstuffs from the countries of Africa. The American monopolies stepped up their penetration into a number of countries in Africa, in particular, the Belgian Congo. During the war the USA sent contingents of troops to Congo. Britain sent its troops into the Italian colonies and also into part of the territory of Ethiopia.

The demand for strategic raw materials for the warring states furthered the growth of some sectors of the economy of the African countries. Production of non-ferrous metals, chrome and manganese ore, copper, di-

amonds, and so on, increased. Some manufacturing industries grew rapidly. Output of food crops and animal products went up as well.

The development of the economy, especially industry, led to the growth of the working class, swelled the urban population and undermined the feudal and semi-feudal systems. A national bourgeoisie was formed. Some of the Africans were either in the army or were shipped as manpower to Europe. There were more than one million Africans in the armies of the countries of the anti-fascist coalition. Hundreds of thousands were engaged in various types of work. All this helped to awaken class consciousness in the African population.

During the war there were more and more protests by the workers, peasants and national bourgeoisie in Africa. There were strikes in Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda. In a number of countries (Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Kenya), trade unions came into being. The economic struggle gradually began to turn into a political one spearheaded against the domination of the colonialists. The colonial authorities ruthlessly suppressed the workers' protests. They carried out sanguinary reprisals against the strikers in Northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo. Simultaneously, the foreign imperialists were also forced to make some concessions. Trade union rights were acknowledged in Kenya, British West Africa, and French West Africa. However, the colonialists rejected in every possible way the demands by the patriotic forces that the independence of the African countries should be recognised. At best, they promised to carry out constitutional reforms in them, having created bodies of local self-government. Nevertheless, the participation of the African peoples in the efforts of the anti-fascist powers in the war helped to further incite Africa to struggle for its freedom and independence.

*The results of the Second World War.* The Second World War, which lasted six years, ended in the victory of the anti-fascist coalition. Sixty-one states, in which 80 per cent of the world's population lived, participated in the war. Military operations were carried out on the territories of 40 states. During the war an army of 110 million people was mobilised. More than three million of the civilian population took part in the armed anti-

fascist struggle. More than 50 million people were killed, 12 million annihilated in fascist concentration camps, and 95 million were left invalids. The military spending of the states that fought in the war came to 1,117,000 million dollars.

The main burden of the war was shouldered by the Soviet Union, whose part was decisive in defeating the fascist aggressors. During the war the Soviet troops destroyed, took prisoner or put completely out of operation 507 German divisions and 100 divisions of Germany's European allies. More than ten million enemy men and officers were killed, taken prisoner or wounded on the Soviet-German front. On the other fronts, in the battles with the Anglo-American forces, Germany lost only 150 divisions and approximately 1,900,000 men and officers.

The USSR lost over 20 million people in the war. Soviet society and the country's economy suffered tremendous damage owing to the destruction. The sums spent for military purposes, the value of the dislocated and destroyed wealth and the losses of income from industry and agriculture amounted to two trillion 569,000 million roubles. The losses sustained by the other powers were immeasurably less. Thus, throughout the war only 405,000 US citizens and 375,000 Britons were killed.

The enormous war effort and sacrifices made by the Soviet people spared the United States and Britain all the horrors, privations, devastation and loss of life that marked the Nazi aggression. Still, due homage must be paid to the valour of the Allied armies, and to the peoples of the USA, Britain, France, and the other countries of the anti-Nazi coalition, who made a tremendous contribution to the victory over fascism.

A new stage in the development of the world socialist revolution began during the war. The liberation, anti-fascist struggle in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, and Albania grew into people's revolutions and caused these countries to drop out of the capitalist system.

During the war the crisis of imperialism's colonial system became more acute, and a mighty upsurge of the national liberation movement began. Conditions emerged for the victory of people's revolutions in China, Korea,

and Vietnam, and for India, Indonesia, Burma, and other countries to gain their independence.

The anti-fascist struggle furthered the better organisation and greater awareness of the working class. The influence of the communist parties increased considerably. The world communist movement gained new historical experience. A qualitatively new balance of forces has taken shape in the world which has opened up unprecedentedly favourable prospects for the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement.

## Chronology

### 1917

November 7-8—The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia ushers in a new era in world history.  
November 8—The Second Congress of Soviets in Petrograd issues the Decree on Peace.  
December 3—The RSFSR Council of People's Commissars issues the Address to All the Working Moslems of Russia and the East.

### 1918

January 28-May 4-5—A workers' revolution occurs in Finland.  
February 1—Seamen of the Austro-Hungarian Navy mutiny in the Gulf of Kotor (Cattaro).  
March 3—Soviet Russia signs the Brest-Litovsk Peace with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey.  
August—Rice riots sweep Japan.  
September—Soldiers' Vladai uprising occurs in Bulgaria.  
October 28—An independent Czechoslovak Republic is proclaimed.  
October 30—A revolution breaks out in Austria.  
October 30-31—A bourgeois-democratic revolution breaks out in Hungary.  
November 3—The seamen mutiny in Kiel, starting the November Revolution in Germany.  
November 11—The Entente countries and Germany sign an armistice.  
November 12—Austria is proclaimed a republic.  
November 16—Hungary is proclaimed a republic.  
November—Poland is proclaimed a republic.  
December 1—The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes is founded in Belgrade.  
1918-1919—Peasant risings occur in various parts of Nigeria.

### 1919

January 18-June 28—Peace Conference is in session in Paris.  
February 28—Afghanistan is proclaimed an independent state.  
March 1—A national liberation uprising begins in Korea.  
March 2-6—The Founding Congress of the Third International is held in Moscow.  
March 9—An uprising for national liberation breaks out in Egypt.  
March 21—A proletarian revolution wins in Hungary, and a Hungarian Soviet Republic is proclaimed.

April 13-May 1—A Soviet Republic is set up in Bavaria.  
April—Seamen of the French naval squadron in the Black Sea start a mutiny.  
April-May—An uprising breaks out in Punjab, giving the start to a revolutionary upsurge in India.  
May 4—Mass anti-imperialist and anti-feudal actions begin in China (May 4th Movement).  
May—A guerrilla war begins in Western Anatolia against the occupation forces, giving the start to a national liberation revolution in Turkey.  
June 28—The Versailles Peace Treaty is signed with Germany.  
1919-1922—A Greco-Turkish war drags on.

#### 1920

April—A popular uprising breaks out in the Iranian part of Azerbaijan.  
August-September—Metal workers in Italy capture and occupy factories.

#### 1921

March—A people's revolution erupts in Mongolia.  
September—An independent Riff republic is formed.  
November 21-February 6, 1922—An international conference on the limitation of naval armaments and on Far Eastern issues is held in Washington.  
December 26—A treaty is signed granting Southern Ireland the status of a dominion.

#### 1922

February 28—The British protectorate over Egypt is abolished. Egypt is proclaimed an independent kingdom.  
April 10-May 19—The Genoa Conference discusses postwar arrangements.  
June 15-July 20—The Hague Conference gathers to discuss economic issues.  
October 28-29—Fascists march on Rome. Mussolini is appointed Prime Minister in Italy.  
December—The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is constituted.

#### 1923

May—The 2nd and 2½ Internationals merge to form the so-called Socialist Workers International.  
September 28-29—An anti-fascist uprising flares up in Bulgaria.  
October 29—Turkey is proclaimed a republic.

#### 1924

October 1924-February 1927—In Brazil, Louis Carlos Prestes heads the March of the Prestes Column.  
November 1—The Great People's Khural gathers and proclaims the Mongolian People's Republic.

#### 1925

October 5-16—The Locarno Conference culminates in a number of treaties.  
1925-1927—An uprising in Syria seeks national liberation from French imperialism.

#### 1926

May 4-12—A general strike paralyses Britain.  
1926-1927—An uprising grips Java and Sumatra.  
1927  
1927-1928—The United States intervenes in Nicaragua.  
1928  
August 27—The Paris Treaty, better known as the Kellogg-Briand Pact, is concluded.

#### 1929

1929—A peasant uprising occurs in Uganda.  
1929-1933—An economic crisis grips the world.

#### 1930

April—A campaign of civil disobedience begins in India.  
December 1930-1932—An armed rising spreads in Burma against British colonial rule.

#### 1931

September 18—The Japanese start their aggression in North-East China (Manchuria).

#### 1932

February 2—A disarmament conference opens in Geneva.  
October—Iraq is formally proclaimed an independent country.

#### 1933

January 30—A fascist dictatorship is established in Germany.  
February—Indonesian and Dutch seamen start a mutiny.

#### 1934

September 18—The Soviet Union joins the League of Nations.

#### 1935

The colonial Government of India Act is published.  
July 25-August 25—The Communist International holds its 7th Congress.  
October-May 1936—Italy starts a war and captures Ethiopia.

#### 1936

February 16—The Popular Front wins elections and a leftist republican government is established in Spain.  
April-May—The Popular Front wins parliamentary elections in France.  
June-July—The Montreux Conference reconsiders the demilitarisation of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus.  
July-March 1939—The people of Spain fight a national revolutionary war against the fascist rebels and the Anglo-German intervention forces.  
November 25—Germany and Japan sign the Anti-Comintern Pact.

#### 1937

April 1—Burma is detached from India.  
July 7—Japan invades North China.

#### 1938

The anti-imperialist "Revolution 1938" movement flares up in Burma.  
March 11—Hitler Germany effects *Anschluss* of Austria.  
September 29-30—The Munich deal is concluded, and an Anglo-German non-aggression declaration is made public.  
October—The Popular Front wins elections and sets up a Popular Front government in Chile.

#### 1939

March 15—Germany overruns Czechoslovakia.  
April 7—Italy invades Albania.  
September 1—Germany attacks Poland, raising the curtain on the Second World War.  
September 3-May 10, 1940—A phony war is seen in Europe.  
November 30-March 12, 1940—The Soviet Union and Finland are embroiled in an armed conflict.

#### 1940

April 3—German troops invade Denmark and Norway.  
May 10—Germany overruns Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, and France.  
June 10—Italy declares war on Britain and France.  
June 22—France surrenders.  
September 27—Germany, Italy, and Japan conclude the Tripartite Pact.  
October 28—Italy attacks Greece.

#### 1941

April—Germany occupies Yugoslavia and Greece.  
June 22—Germany attacks the USSR. This marks the start of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union.  
August 14—Roosevelt and Churchill sign the Atlantic Charter.  
September 30-April 20, 1942—The Battle of Moscow is fought.  
December 7—Japan attacks the United States, raising the curtain on the war in the Pacific Ocean.

#### 1942

January 1—The United Nations Declaration is signed.  
July 17-February 2, 1943—The Battle of Stalingrad turns the scales in the Second World War.

#### 1943

May 15—The Presidium of the Comintern's Executive Committee announces the dissolution of the Communist International.  
July 5-August 23—The Battle of the Kursk Salient is fought.  
September 3-8—Italy surrenders.  
November 28-December 21—The heads of government of the USSR, the USA, and Great Britain confer in Teheran.

#### 1944

June 6—Allied troops land in Northern France, opening the second front in Europe.  
August 1-October 2—An uprising flares up in Warsaw.  
August 19-25—An armed uprising erupts in Paris.

August 23—An anti-fascist uprising starts in Romania, and the fascist military dictatorship is overthrown.

August 29-October 28—A national uprising occurs in Slovakia.

September 3-7—An armed uprising occurs in Antwerp.

September 4—Finland withdraws from the war.

September 9—A popular uprising triumphs in Sofia.

October 20—A popular uprising erupts in Guatemala and deposes the reactionary dictatorship.

November 29—Albania is cleared of Nazi troops.

#### 1945

February 4-12—The heads of government of the USSR, the USA, and Great Britain confer at the Crimean (Yalta) Conference.  
February—A World Trade Union Conference gathers in London.  
April 25-June 26—A Conference of the United Nations gathers in San Francisco.

May 2—Berlin is captured by Soviet troops.

May 5-9—A popular uprising occurs in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

May 8—Nazi Germany signs the unconditional surrender in Berlin.

May 9—The world celebrates Victory Day over Nazi Germany.

June 26—The UN Charter is signed at the San Francisco Conference.

July 17-August 2—The heads of government of the USSR, the USA, and Great Britain confer at Potsdam.

August 8—The Soviet Union declares war on Japan.

September 2—The unconditional surrender instrument is signed by Japan, ending the Second World War.

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